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SOCIALIZATION, RACE, AND THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL.
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THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS OF NEGRO AND WHITE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WAS STUDIED. PRIMARY DATA WERE GATHERED FROM FIVE HIGH SCHOOLS LOCATED IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. THE SCHOOLS WERE SELECTED ACCORDING TO THEIR RACIAL COMPOSITION AND REGION, TWO IN THE SOUTH AND THREE IN THE NORTHEAST. SOUTHERN SCHOOLS HAD EXAMPLES OF ALL NEGRO AND ALL WHITE. NORTHERN SCHOOLS HAD EXAMPLES OF ALL NEGRO, RACIALLY MIXED, AND PREDOMINATELY WHITE. THE SUBJECTS (7,949) WERE ADMINISTERED A PAPER AND PENCIL QUESTIONNAIRE ON ASPECTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION. SECONDARY DATA CONSISTED OF THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL STUDIES. THESE DATA WERE DEVELOPED INTO AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION, RACE, AND THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL. DISCUSSION INCLUDED TOPICS ON (1) ROLE SOCIALIZATION, (2) THE FAMILY, (3) PEERS, (4) SOCIALIZATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOL, (5) RACIAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS, (6) TEACHERS, (7) YOUTH ASPIRATIONS, AND (8) REFERENCE GROUP INTERACTION. (RS)

~~FINAL REPORT~~

Socialization, Race, and the American High School

Cooperative Research Project No. S-031

Warren D. TenHouten

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Department of Sociology
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1965

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION OF NEGRO YOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES

The Socialization of Negro Youth as a Sociological Problem

The American high school is an institution specifically designed to prepare adolescents for later performance of adult roles. As such, it is a socializing agent. A comprehensive sociological investigation of the comparative behavior of Negro and white high school students must consequently come to grips with the socialization process. This is apparent. But the task is far from completed.

In order to compare the socialization of two or more groups, it is first of all necessary to explicate what general processes can be found in "normal" social growth. Pathological behavioral patterns, for example, cannot be evaluated--or even really defined--independently of non-pathological behavioral patterns. The evaluation of social processes as normal or pathological is a necessary preliminary step in the search for causal explanation.[1]

An explanation of the behavior of high school students in a context of the socialization process of course requires an adequate theory of socialization. In this book, a general theory of socialization will be developed. This theory will then be related to the preparation of high school students for adult role performance--social, educational, and occupational.

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[1] On this, see Harold Fallding, "Functional Analysis in Sociology," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 9.

The first task of this theory building process will be to establish criteria for evaluating the performance of various groups of students. These criteria will make it possible to draw conclusions about the relative rates of socialization of various groups. This first step will be based on a consideration of some major dimensions of the growth and development of organic and social systems. On the basis of theory generated from this General Systems analysis, a number of propositions will be derived and tested empirically.

This foundation will provide a take-off point for the examination of specific social systems in which the child is socialized. It will be the topic of Chapter II. In Chapters III and IV, socialization in the nuclear family will be examined. Chapter III will focus on socialization by parents and Chapter IV on socialization by siblings. In Chapter V, the interrelations of parents and peers as socializers will be examined. In Chapters VI and VII, peers and the peer group will be studied. In Chapter VIII, analysis of the high school will begin, with a consideration of teachers as socializers. The entire text can be regarded as a theory of role socialization.

An early motivation for attempting to develop such a theory was a concern with the interrelationships between race and education.[2] The continuing intergration of American high schools will have far-reaching social, economic, and political effects. Social research on the detrimental effects of de jure segregation was an important argument in the Supreme Court decision of 1954, that declared this segregation unconstitutional. The evidence presented in this case generated considerable controversy among social scientists. More recently, the attention of social scientists and the public have focused more on de facto segregation in high schools. Here too, research findings are contradictory. St. John points out that the research evidence on either type of high school racial segregation is surprisingly limited and permits few conclusions.[3]

So far, much of the scholarly and public debate on racial composition in the high school has been focused on racial composition per se. As we shall see in Chapter VII, this is a relatively superficial aspect of racial composition. It is important to know what happens within the social system of the high school as a result of the racial composition of the student body and the faculty. It is to this second problem that this research will be directed. Analysis of the internal structure of the high school will provide answers to questions of what racial compositions contribute to normal--or pathological--behavior and performance of Negro and white students. Racial composition as it affects the socialization of youth in the high school has received little attention from social scientists. The following paragraphs will highlight why it is important that questions concerning race, racial composition, and socialization should be asked, and answered.

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[2] Max Duetscher and Isodor Chein, "The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion," Journal of Psychology, 26 (1948), pp. 259-287.

[3] Nancy Hoyt St. John, "De Facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High School," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), p. 326.

There are a plethora of studies indicating that Negroes develop less successfully into adult roles than whites. Negro youth are slower to develop intelligence, personality, and social skills, three aspects of socialization that are neither exhaustive or mutually exclusive.

The evidence is considerable, though not conclusive, that differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites are environmental rather than physiological in their causes.[4]

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[4] Since this text is a sociological analysis, explanations of racial differences will be based entirely on socio-environmental factors. There is a lack of consensus on whether biological factors are also important. As Roen points out, there is a ". . . lack of justification for generalizing about (biological) race differences." (See Sheldon R. Roen, "Personality and Negro-White Intelligence," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61 (1960), p. 148.) There is, however, a high level of consensus among social scientists that human nature is so elastic that social analysis can account for a wide range of variation in the behavior of groups: on this, See Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Negro American Intelligence: A New Look at an Old Controversey," Journal of Negro Education (1964), pp. 6-25.

As infants, Negroes score as high as whites on intelligence tests.[5] Five year old Negro and white children have also been found to be no different on intelligence test scores.[6] Yet, as the socialization process continues beyond these early stages, and personality differences develop between Negro and white youth, white children begin to perform better on intelligence tests. Roen found that Negro youth develop intellectually defeating personality traits that are highly correlated with performance on IQ tests. For the white children, personality and intelligence were less closely related.[7] Roen also points out that the emergence of personality is closely related to environment.[8] Given this finding, it should be expected that a change in environment, through its effects on personality, would change the performance of Negro youth on intelligence tests. In particular, changing to a better environment by migrating from South to North should raise the intelligence test scores of Negro children. Klineberg's classic study of migration and Negro intelligence supports this conclusion. He writes that

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[5] A. R. Gilliland, "Socio-economic Status and Race as Factors in Infant Intelligence Test Scores," Child Development, 22 (1951), pp. 271-273.

[6] Anne Anastasi and Rita D'Angelo, "A Comparison of Negro and White Pre-School Children in Language Development and Goodenough Draw-A-Man IQ," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 81 (1952), pp. 147-165.

[7] Roen, op. cit., p. 150.

[8] Ibid., p. 148.

> There seems to . . . be no reasonable doubt as to . . . the superiority of the northern over the southern Negroes, and the tendency of northern Negroes to approximate the scores of the whites, are due to factors in the environment, and not to selective migration.[9]

The Klineberg hypothesis was retested, with more rigorous methodological controls, by Lee. Klineberg's findings were generally upheld, as Lee reports ". . . a significant and continuous upward trend in the intelligence test ratings of southern-born Negro children as their length of residence in Philadelphia increases."[10]

The social environment of the American Negro also depresses psychological growth and adjustment. A major contribution by Kardiner and Ovesey, which contains a great deal of historical, sociological, and psychiatric information about the American Negro, leaves little doubt that the minority position of the Negro creates personality disorders--repressed and supressed hostility towards whites, self-hatred, and a radically split ego-ideal.[11] Goff has shown that Negro children receive little guidance from parents in interacting with whites, and in dealing with feelings of resentment and

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[9] Otto Klineberg, Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), esp. pp. 24-34, and 40-42.

[10] Everett S. Lee, "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klienberg Hypothesis," in Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan, eds., Demographic Analysis: Selected Readings (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 437.

[11] Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression: Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1951).

and inferiority.[12] Bender, in the earliest clinical study of Negroes, found that racial tension is expressed in blocking, mutism, catelepsy, negativeness, and sleepiness.[13] Grossack cites numerous other studies which show ". . . that Negro children are often more emotionally disturbed, more poorly adjusted to teachers and more socially maladjusted."[14]

The same complex set of social forces that retard and arrest mental development and psychological growth and adjustment in the American Negro also act to retard and arrest the general sociological growth of Negro youth. A Negro boy has about half the chance of graduating from high school, and only a third the chance of finishing college or becoming a professional man.[15] In the following paragraphs, a few preliminary observations will be made on the interrelations between race and the performance of races in the high school. Then, in the next section of this chapter, a critical evaluation of research on this topic will be presented.

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[12] Regina M. Goff, Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

[13] L. Bender, "Behavioral Problems of Negro Children," Psychiatry, 2 (1949), pp. 213-228.

[14] Martin M. Grossack, Mental Health and Segregation (New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), p. 3.

[15] Sidney M. Willheim and Edwin H. Powell, "Who Needs the Negro," Transaction, 1 (1964), pp. 4-5.

It is a well-established empirical finding that Negro students _perform_ at a lower level than white students in the American high school. This is particularly evident when performance is measured by grade point average. Ferrel compared Negro and white students and found that whites scored significantly higher in several areas of academic achievement.[16] Osborne supports this finding, as he found that the performance of Negro students is not only inferior to that of white students, but the relative performance of Negroes decreases over time.[17] At the same time, many studies show that the _aspirations_ of Negro students are similar to those of whites. Holloway and Berreman found that the educational and occupational aspiration levels of Negro and white students did not differ significantly by race, when class is held constant.[18] Green, in testing eleventh graders, found that Negro students were _more_ highly motivated than white students, but were lower achievers on the basis of their academic grades.[19] Similarly, Morse found that eighth grade Negro students were more highly motivated than their white classmates.[20]

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[16] Guy V. Ferrel, "A Comparative Study of Sex Differences in School Achievement of White and Negro Children," _Journal of Educational Research_, 43 (1949), pp. 116-121.

[17] R. T. Osborne, "Racial Differences in Mental Growth and School Achievement: A Longitudinal Study," _Psychological Reports_, 7 (1960), pp. 233-239.

[18] Robert G. Holloway and Joel V. Berreman, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Elementary School Students," _Pacific Sociological Review_, 2 (1959), p. 58; also see Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," _American Sociological Review_, 24 (1959), pp. 47-60.

These studies indicate that Negro students' aspirations and motivations are higher than their performance and attainment. Duetsch, in this connection, found that Negro boys tend to aspire to very unlikely jobs--with about a third wanting to go into high prestige professions such as medicine and engineering.[21] Preliminary analysis of pre-test questionnaires by Gottlieb showed that Negro boys will frequently aspire to a profession that requires graduate training, while at the same time only plan to go to college from one to three years. Stephenson found that both Negro and white students value high achievement and have high aspirations, but the Negro student--faced with obstacles of both class and race, plans lower than he aspires.[22] Race and class background are not, however, the whole explanation of the gap between aspirations and plans in the Negro group. The structure of the high school is also an important determinant. Johnson has emphasized that "There is a lack of any discernable relationship between the formal content of instruction designed to relate the youth to his ongoing past and to provide him with the manual and intellectual tools for dealing with his environment. . . ."[23]

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[19] Robert Lee Green, "The Predictive Efficiency and Factored Dimensions of the Michigan M-Scales for Eleventh Grade Negro Students: An Exploratory Study" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1963).

[20] Richard J. Morse, "Self-Concept of Ability, Significant Others and School Achievement of Eighth-Grade Students: A Comparative Investigation of Negro and Caucasian Students" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1963).

[21] Martin Deutsch, "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement," in Grossak, op. cit., pp. 64-75. Lott and Lott, in contradistinction, found Negro high school students more optimistic than white students, but shrewd in their appraisal of their position in society, their better chances for white collar jobs in the North, and their need to eliminate

Adolescents of high school age have the highest rate of unemployment of any age group in the labor force. Within this group, the unemployment rate for Negro youth is over twice that of white youth. The male Negro of high school age is perhaps the most unemployable member of American society. Yet it is this very group that has the highest high school dropout rate. This problem is compounded by the fact that Negro aspirations are undoubtedly changing faster than opportunities. More Negroes are being socialized

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discriminatory racial barriers. Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border State Community (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963).

[22] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 204-212.

[23] Charles S. Johnson, "The Guidance Problems of Negro Youth," in Grossack, op. cit., p. 44.

to seek success than can possibly attain it.[24] With so few opportunities outside of the high school and yet such a high propensity to leave high school, the conclusion can readily be drawn that Negro students in high school do not see a relationship between their school experience and their future goals. On this, Duetsch writes:

> The lower-class child, and especially the lower-class minority group child, lives in a milieu which fosters self-doubt and social confusion, which in turn serves substantially to lower motivation and makes it difficult to structure experience into cognitively meaningful activity and aspirations. As Erich Fromm consistently points out, one of the social characteristics of modern man is his increasing alienation from both his work and his fellow man. The dynamics of this psychological process in a technological society might be best understood through the study of the progressive alienation of the Negro child in a white world.[25]

Preliminary analysis of data and observation of high schools has suggested that there are systematic differences in Negro performance among different school social structures. A particularly important structural effect was found to be the racial composition of the student body and the faculty. A socialization theory that could explain under which conditions Negro high school students best perform could potentially synthesize much research on education. In addition, it would provide obvious policy implications. This will be taken up in later chapters.

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[24] Ernest Q. Campbell, "On Desegregation and Matters Sociological," Phylon, 22 (1961), pp. 135-145.

[25] Duetsch, op. cit., p. 75.

Segregated Negro high schools have neither the facilities nor the financial resources to handle the expected increase in enrollment and demands for quality education. Many of these institutions are already operating under inadequate budgets, inferior instruction, and minimal academic standarads.[26] A highly probable result will be increasing Negro enrollment in previously all-white or predominantly white schools. School integration will in all probability continue, and perhaps even accelerate, in spite of resistance from the white community. Increasing the proportion of Negro students in high schools creates problems both for the absorbing institution, and the Negro and white students. Yet, as shall be indicated in the next section, little is known about these problems. Educational planners and community decision makers have little systematic research at their disposal on the effects of racial change in the high school. Hence, it is critically important to gain concrete knowledge of the social and academic processes in the high school as they relate to race. In the next three paragraphs, a few remarks will be made on the effects of school integration.

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[26] Carroll L. Miller, "Educational Opportunities and the Negro Child in the South," Harvard Educational Review, 30 (1960), pp. 195-208; John A. Morsell, (Schools, Courts, and the Negro's Future," Harvard Educational Review, 30 (1960), pp. 179-194.

W. I. Thomas wrote that "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."[27] Certainly the perceptions of faculty members by students in an important determinant of their behavior within the school; and conversely; the perceptions of students by faculty members and administrative personnel is an important determinant of their behavior in interacting with students. Research has clearly shown that there are systematic differences in perceptions along racial lines, among both students[28] and faculty.[29] Yet little has been derived from these data. It is in part to an examination of these perceptions, and their effects, that this research will be directed. Reitzes states that an important consideration in the analysis of race relations is that the key to the behavior of individuals is found in the way in which relevant organizations define situations of racial contact.[30] Thus, differential racial perceptions have real consequences not only for students and faculty members, but for the whole organizational structure of the high school.

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[27] Cited in Robert K. Merton, "The Self-Fulfilling Prophesy," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 421.

[28] See, e.g., St. John, op. cit.; George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association Among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," American Sociological Review, 17 (1952), pp. 23-35.

[29] See, e.g., David Gottlieb, "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), pp. 345-353.

[30] Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Institutional Structure and Race Relations," Phylon, 20 (1959), pp. 48-66.

When Negro students go from a segregated to an integrated school, their performance relative to that of white students often deteriorates, though it generally improves absolutely, as Hanson found in the District of Columbia.[31] Throughout this text, an examination of various socializing reference groups will be used to explain data such as this. As Nelson found, there is a tendency of people to act in a manner determined by their perceptions of reference groups.[32] In this case, where the Negro student goes from a school with Negro teachers as referents, to one where teachers are predominantly or all white, there is a decrease in the extent to which teachers are perceived as providing means for attaining goals, and particularly, in providing expressive support for attaining goals. Deprived of meaningful referents, the Negro student becomes alienated from the school, and consequently sees a lessened relationship between classroom performance and the attainment of educational and occupational goals. This will be a major topic of Chapter X.

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[31] Carl F. Hanson, "The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools in the District of Columbia," Harvard Educational Review, 30 (1960), pp. 216-236.

[32] Harold A. Nelson, "A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (1961), pp. 274-280.

Studies that deal with socializing reference groups in terms of race are rare. It is still to be determined by which criteria Negro youth become involved with, and interact with, various types of referents in an attempt to obtain help in attaining adult roles. The perceptions of parents, siblings, peers, teachers, and others are all potential sources of achievements or causes of pathological performance. A study by TenHouten was designed to establish criteria by which students become involved with, are indifferent to, or are alienated from, various socializers.[33] Since referents that provide opportunities for the student to attain his goals are--almost by definition--the people that socialize the child, it is apparent that an explanation of goal attainment might be facilitated by a theory of socialization. To construct such a theory, we will examine " . . . social structure of roles and statuses which provides the context for reference group behavior," as Merton suggests.[34] Reference groups will be examixed in a context of systems of roles, i.e., of complexes of people in role interaction. "Reference groups" will not be mentioned again until Chapter

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[33] Warren D. TenHouten, "Methodological Innovations and Models on the Structure of Reference Group Behavior" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1963).

[34] Robert K. Merton, "Reference Groups and Social Structure," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, p. 368.

X, where models of interaction will be related to the attainment of educational and occupational goals. Instead, beginning with Chapter II, we will use the terminologies of General System Theory and Role Theory.

An Evaluation of Research on Race and the American High School

Educating the young is a fundamental task for any society. Sociology, however, has paid astonishingly little attention to the educational process.[35] In particular, socialization theory has had little to say about the education of Negro youth. Child's review of socialization theory in the Handbook of Social Psychology, by way of illustration, has a direct reference to race in only one out of 125 citations.[36] This is not surprising in view of the pronounced psychological bent that socialization theory takes, and in view of the persistent bifurcation between theoretical and substantive areas of social science. The psychological substantive orientation of socialization theory does not equip it for dealing with the institutional social structure within which education occurs.

Socialization theory has also placed a great emphasis on *early* socialization. Largely as a consequence of the influences of Freudian theory, the personality system is believed to be relatively complete by the attainment of adolesence. Recent studies have placed a greater emphasis on the socilization of adolesents and adults.

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[35] Kasper D. Naegele, "Some Observations on the Scope of Sociological Analysis," in Talcott Parsons, *et al*., eds., *Theories of Society*: *Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 16.

[36] Irving L. Child, "Socialization," in Gardner Lindzey, ed., *Handbook of Social Psychology*, II (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 655-692.

The profound social upheavals that have taken place since the 1954 Supreme Court decision that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional have made the racial composition of schools pressing social, economic, and political concerns. The reactions to this legal decision were not predicted by social scientists.[37] In particular, socialization theorists had little to say. Psychoanalysts, psychologists, and social psychologists, because of their focus on the individual's personality system and on early socialization, cannot be expected to make predictions about changes in society-wide intergroup relations. Sociologists and social anthropologists dealing in the area of socialization have considerably less justification for an inability to predict social change of such near-revolutionary magnitude. On this, Grossack concludes that ". . . social science research has been too little and too late to really play a crucial role in the social changes occuring."[38]

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[37] It should be pointed out, however, that interest in this area has recently accelerated. Further, once attention has been directed to race relations, predictions have been forthcoming. For example, see Pettigrew's recent article, in which a series of predictions about the future of the Negro protest are made. In Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Actual Gains and Psychological Losses: The Negro American Protest," Journal of Negro Education (1963), pp. 493-506. Also see Everett C. Hughes, "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 879. A summary of forecasts on the desegregation of Southern schools is presented in A. L. Coleman, "Social Scientists' Predictions about Desegregation," Social Forces, 38 (1960), pp. 254-262; also see Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Demographic Correlates of Border-State Desegregation," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 683-389.

The overall state of socialization theory thus presents a formidable barrier to prediction. Hughes argues that the methodology of sociology militates against that discipline making a major contribution. He finds that trend analysis is too limited to stimulate the sociological imagination, and that the scope of theoretical interest is too narrow. He writes:

> Some have asked why we (sociologists) did not forsee the great mass movements of Negroes; it may be that our conception of social science is so empirical, so limited to little bundles of fact applied to little hypotheses, that we are incapable of entertaining a broad range of possibilities, of following out the madly unlikely combinations of social circumstances.[39]

Hyman has pointed out that ". . . applied social research seems oriented to the immediate issue rather than to be problem oriented."[40] Gottlieb, in a forthcoming article, points out four reasons why social scientists are so little concerned with social problems. First of all, the value orientations of social scientists militate against a problem orientation. There is a felt need to be "objective," to emphasize intellectual curiosity, and to be "scientific." Apart from the question of whether such an orientation optimizes the social scientists' contribution to the total welfare of the society, there is little doubt that this orientation is rewarded within the various social science disciplines. Secondly, there are formidable institutional barriers to cooperation with social work and with education. For example, public schools are very resistent to the information-seeking "outsider." There is both suspicion of the social scientists' motives and cynicism about the worth of his research. Thirdly, there is a gap in information and ideas between those who work with humans and those who study them. Related to this is a difference in professional training and identity. Fourthly, the American socio-political climate hinders "pre-crisis" research involvement. Research funds are most generally available for attempting to solve a present dilemma. Part of the reason for this of course goes back to the social scientists' inability to predict future dilemmas. In addition to the above obstacles to problem oriented research, research dealing with race has been deterred by a variety of systematic pressures.[41]

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[38] Martin M. Grossack, "Attitudes Towards Desegregation of Southern White and Negro Children," The Journal of Social Psychology, 46 (1957), p. 306.

[39] Hughes, op. cit., p. 899.

[40] Herbert H. Hyman, "England and America, 1962," in Daliel Bell, ed., The Radical Right (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1963), p. 238. Emphasis added.

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[41] Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Social Psychology and Desegregation Research," American Psychologist, 16 (1961), pp. 105-112.

Before turning to the theoretical development of the text, some general information of the methodology and sampling procedures to be used in this study will be discussed.

Methodology and Sampling

There is an enormous body of research relating to socialization, to race, and to the American High School. Within each of these three areas, there is a need to establish more adequate theory. The interrelations between these three areas are less developed than the areas themselves. There is a need to establish continuity between these areas. Socialization theories do not deal much with educational institutions, though these institutions play an increasingly important role in the socialization process. Socialization theory--as we have seen--deals little with race. Finally, research on race and education, though gaining at an accelerating rate, is by no means an integrated theory. In this text, an attempt will be made to cast a theoretical net over all three of these areas, by dealing with the socialization of Negro and white youth in the American High School. This net will have weak threads, gaping holes, and will leave important areas uncovered. Yet it is important--both for theory and policy--to throw a net, to try to systematize the existing farrago of theory and research. As Novalis wrote: "Theories are nets; only he who casts will catch."[42]

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[42] Cited in Karl R. Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery (New York: Science Editions, Inc., 1961), p. 11.

To attain this goal, or to make an attempt to do so, involves adapting theory from many fields of scientific inquiry. Data that are secondary as well as primary will be used. Secondary data analysis, after Lipset and Bendix,[43] involves utilization of findings and conclusions gathered by others and which was originally intended for a variety of theoretical and empirical uses. Many key hypotheses in this text will be tested by data collected and analyzed by other researchers.

In addition to secondary data, primary data was collected from five high schools in the United States. The schools were selected on the bases of region and racial composition. Two of the high schools were located in the Deep South (East South Central), and three in the Midwest (East North Central). Some properties of the five schools and some of the methodological procedures and problems encountered in gathering survey data from the schools, will be presented in the following paragraphs.

A paper and pencil questionnaire was used, in conjunction with observation, to generate data from the high schools. The questionnaire is presented as Appendix A. There are formidable problems in gathering data from the lower strata of society. Institutional resistance to the outsider who seeks information has been mentioned. This limits the amount of secondary data available. It also severely limited the primary data that it was possible to obtain in this study. Objections to certain questions from the Northern schools and from the Federal Government were in general overcome. For the Southern schools, however, it was not possible to ask certain questions pertaining to race and region. In addition, it was not possible to ask student's names, which made sociometric analysis impossible. In the Northern schools, question on race and on the student's name were asked, but the students were instructed that they did not need to answer any questions to which they objected. This difficulty reduced the comparability of the Northern and Southern data. A second difficulty was that the lower strata of society are in general less skilled in giving verbal responses to items. This was pronounced in the South: Students had difficulty ranking items, and following instructions. The greatest difficulty was found in the Southern Negro school: The students in this school had never taken an objective test from which they had to choose alternative responses. This second difficulty further reduced the comparability of Northern and Southern schools. As a result, some hypotheses related to processes by which students attain educational and occupational goals could not be tested for the two schools in the South.

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[43] Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), p. x.

As a result of these methodological problems, more emphases will be placed on the three Northern schools. Southern data will be presented where meaningful comparisons can be made.

The first Southern high school, "South Negro High School," is located in a suburb of a large city. The population of this suburb is approximately 10,000. The suburb is predominantly Negro. The school is all Negro, in both the student body and faculty. The County's non-white population represents about 30% of the 27,000 inhabitants. The median education in the County is 6.8 years of schooling. Only nine residents of the County are presently enrolled in college, and only 38 have college degrees. The median income of the County is $3,800. The white median income is twice that of the Negro income.

The other Southern high school, "South White High School," is located in a city of 30,000. The school is all white, in both student body and faculty. The median education is 11.0 years of schooling. For the non-white sub-population, which is about 20% of the total, the median education is 6.4 years. The median income of the city's inhabitants is $5,260. For the Negro minority, the median income is $2,070 per year.

The first Northern high school, "North Negro High School," has a predominately Negro student body, and a mixed faculty. The student body is 99% Negro, and the faculty is about 26% Negro. This school's School District has 72% Negro for all schools, and 45% Negro faculty. In all of the 35 schools in this District, the proportion of Negro students exceeds the proportion of Negro teachers. The schools range from all white to nearly all Negro in student bodies, and from all white to 63% Negro in faculties. Twelve of the 35 schools are predominately Negro, 11 of which have predominatly Negro faculties, and one of which has a racially balanced faculty. The schools adjacent to North Negro High School are predominantly Negro.

The incomes and educations of persons in the school environments in the Northern city were determined by averaging the median family incomes of the school's census tract and all adjacent tracts, and finding the median school years completed for all persons over 25 years of age in the same area. This method was used as each school services more than a single census tract but less than an entire school district. All three Northern schools were located in the same Midwestern metropolis, which has a population of over two million persons.

For North Negro High School, the median family income is $4,400 and the median educational level is 8.9 years of schooling.

"North Mixed High School" has a racially balanced student body, being 47% Negro. The faculty is about 8-10% Negro. This school's school district has a 42% Negro student population, and a 19% Negro faculty population. The school is located in a cluster of 13 predominantly Negro schools. There are 30 schools in the district, that vary considerably by racial composition.

For North Mixed High School, the median family income is $6,000 and the median educational level is 8.6 years of schooling.

"North White High School" has a predominantly white student body, being 95% white. The faculty is virtually all white, as there are only a handful of Negro teachers and administrative personnel. The school's district has a 1% Negro minority, in both faculty and student body.

For North White High School, the median family income is $7,250 and the median educational level is 9.9 years of schooling.

Data on the mean average years of schooling of student's fathers was obtained from the survey data. This data is presented in Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1--Mean Average Years of Schooling of Students' Fathers, by Race: All Schools

	Negro		White		Total		
School	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Census Data
South Negro	10.6	(303)	--	(0)	10.6	(303)	6.8
South White	--	(0)	12.8	(1072)	12.8	(1072)	11.0
North Negro	9.3	(1450)	10.9	(15)	10.1	(1465)	8.9
North Mixed	10.9	(642)	9.8	(798)	10.4	(1440)	8.6
North White	11.7	(87)	10.8	(2219)	10.9	(2306)	9.9
All Schools	10.0	(2482)	11.1	(4104)	10.6	(6586)	9.0

The mean average educational levels of fathers as given by students is in every case higher than the values obtained from census data, with the average difference 1.6 years (based on an unweighted mean for census data).

White students report that their fathers have an average of 11.1 years of schooling, as opposed to 10.0 years for Negro students. In the three Northern high schools, there is an irregular tendency for students with better educated fathers to attend schools that are predominantly white. This holds for both Negro and white students.

The questionnaires were administered in English classes throughout a single school day in the Spring of 1963. The Southern schools were entered first. For the Northern schools, the questionnaires were modified slightly. Only the Northern form is presented in Appendix A. A staff of approximately 13 was used to administer the questionnaires in the three Northern schools. The proportion of Negroes on the staff was increased as the proportion of Negroes in the student body of the schools increased. A high percentage of the student bodies of North White and North Negro were obtained. A lower per cent was obtained for North Mixed High School. This was a result of the school's special vocational curriculum, many of the students of which were not enrolled in any English class. It was necessary to return to this school and give the questionnaire to the non-English students: These students were gathered in a single auditorium, and had no time limit. In all other cases, students were given one 45 minute class period to complete the questionnaire. The South White High School students were also given 45 minutes. The South Negro students were given up to two hours. The schools' enrollments and the proportions of the student bodies that filled out questionnaires are presented in Table 1.2.

TABLE 1.2--Proportion of Student Body in Sample, and Size of Student Body: All Schools

School	Per Cent	(N)
South Negro	81	(604)
South White	85	(1504)
North Negro	75	(2285)
North Mixed	88	(2125)
North White	91	(2869)
All Schools	85	(9387)

For both regions, the sample as a per cent of the population increases with the increase in per cent of white students in the school. The Northern schools are larger than the Southern schools. After the questionnaires had been gathered, students who answered very few questions, or who gave non-sense responses, were thrown out of the sample. If a student responded that he was both Negro and another race (Asiatic, American Indian, or Caucasian), he was classified as Negro, as this is sociologically the most realistic. As students handed in their questionnaires, the research workers marked the cover with a code identifying the students' race. By this method, all but five students in the Northern schools were classified by race. These five, and four others who answered the race question differently than the research worker had coded them, were classified by further contact with school administration. Hence, every student in the sample was classified by race. Students who were Asiatic or American Indian were excluded from the sample. Since a different form of the questionnaire was used for boys and girls, every student in the sample was also classified by sex. Nearly all students gave their grade, which was the first question asked. For those that did not, school yearbooks and records were searched to determine grade. At South Negro High, students from grades 7 through 12 were included in the sample. At South White High, students from grades 9 through 12 were included. North Mixed High consisted of grades 9 through 12, and the other two schools in the North consisted of grades 10 through 12. To optimize comparability, only students in grades 10 through 12 are included in the Northern schools. A breakdown of the sample by race, sex, and grade is presented in Table 1 of the second appendix, Appendix B. (The questionnaire is Appendix A.) A number of tables on selected background characteristics of the students are also presented in this appendix. A breakdown of each school's sample by race and sex, but not by grade, is presented in Table 1.3.

As was indicated in Table 1.2, the samples are a fairly large percentage of the total populations of the student bodies from which they are drawn. No claim, however, is made that these samples are randomly drawn: They clearly are not random samples. In a very important sense, the sample is systematically biased in that the students not in school are engaged in deviant behavior, whether they are

TABLE 1.3--Sample Sizes, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Race/Sex	South Negro		South White		North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys	44.4	(217)	--	(0)	46.9	(806)	23.0	(425)	2.1	(55)
Negro Girls	55.6	(272)	--	(0)	52.1	(894)	23.9	(441)	2.2	(58)
White Boys	--	(0)	50.2	(633)	.5	(9)	28.8	(532)	46.8	(1232)
White Girls	--	(0)	49.8	(628)	.5	(8)	24.3	(448)	48.9	(1289)
Negroes	100.0	(489)	--	(0)	99.0	(1700)	46.9	(886)	4.3	(113)
Whites	--	(0)	100.0	(1261)	1.0	(17)	53.1	(980)	95.7	(2521)
Boys	44.4	(217)	50.2	(633)	47.4	(815)	51.8	(957)	48.9	(1287)
Girls	55.6	(272)	49.8	(628)	52.6	(902)	48.2	(889)	51.1	(1347)
All Students	100.0	(489)	100.0	(1261)	100.0	(1717)	100.0	(1846)	100.0	(2634)

are absent by reason of illness, work, or "skipping school," The sample is not only not a random sample of the school population; it is not a random sample of the class of all adolescents. Drop-outs could not enter the sample, nor could students from other schools and cities. With these limitations, statistical inferences are not fully justified. Statistical tests of hypotheses will be made, however, keeping in mind that the assumptions of these tests are not fully met. It is perhaps unavoidable that these methological problems will be present in social research: They do not, however, preclude the data and theory contributing to useful scientific knowledge.

CHAPTER II

ROLE SOCIALIZATION

A General System Theory Approach to Role Socialization

The development of a general theory of socialization, as stated, must deal with a variety of reference groups that, through systems of interaction, contribute to the child's attainment of full status--or adult roles--within his society. The socialization of the child can be regarded as a process of structural growth of his social personality. In this process, it will be shown that there are systematic changes in the reciprocal role relations between the child and his socializers. Boulding supplies a definition of structural growth.

> Finally, we have what might be called structural growth, in which the aggregate which "grows" consists of a complex structure of interrelated parts and in which the growth process involves change in the relations of the parts. . . . Problems of structural growth seem to merge almost imperceptibly into the problems of structural change or development, so that frequently "what grows" is not the over-all size of the structure but the complexity or systematic nature of its parts.[1]

Hence, socialization can be viewed as a process whereby the reciprocal role relations between the child and those in his social environment become increasingly complex and systematic.

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[1] Kenneth E. Boulding, "Toward a General Theory of Growth," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 19 (1953), pp. 326-340.

Using a General System Theory orientation will enable us to explain, in the philosophical sense, the processed by which the child develops a personality structure that will enable him to perform adult roles. Further, it will provide criteria for predicting the relative rates of socialization of different groups of children.

General System Theory is an organismic approach to the analysis of systems. It was formulated by Lotka[2] and by von Bertalanffy,[3] and is reflected in the psychology of Goldstein, in Gestalt psychology, and in many diverse fields. The theory is based on the observation of structural similarities, or isomorphy, in different fields that are systems, i.e., complexes of elements in interaction. It will be shown in this chapter, for instance, that there are isomorphies between biological systems and animal communities and human societies.[4]

In using this approach, the adolescent will be viewed not merely as a reflexive resultant of many background "independent variables," but rather as an acting element in a complex system of interaction, in an organized whole. The use of such a Gestalt orientation will enable us to borrow general principles from other than sociological fields. In addition, this approach makes it possible to differentiate between mere analogy between systems, and isomorphy, or homology, where phenomena that differ in causal factors can be viewed as governed by structurally identical laws.

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[2] Alfred J. Lotka, Elements of Physical Biology (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkens Company, 1925).

[3] Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Problems of Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952); Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "General System Theory," General Systems, 1 (1952), pp. 2-3 ff. presents a bibliography on the development of general system theory.

[4] See R. W. Gerard, "A Biologists View of Society," General Systems, 1 (1952), pp. 155-160.

Some writers have been critical of making analogies between systems. Buck, for example, claims that such analogies are feeble, and formal identities do not exist.[5] There are, however, a great many studies that _have_ developed identities between diverse systems. Stone, in a recent discussion of the uses of mathematics in the social sciences, observes that through the use of mathematical analysis, ". . . a number of problems that had seemed to be completely unrelated--for instance the analysis of educational systems and the programming of capital investments--prove to be mathematically identical."[6]

Making analogies between systems, according to Radcliffe-Brown, is basic to _all_ scientific procedures.[7] This procedure will be used extensively in this book. The social processes by which youth are socialized will be approached by analogy with other systems of growth. It will be shown that there are processes of growth generic to a variety of systems that hold, in Bouldings words, ". . . regardless of the nature of the component elements and of the relations of force between them."[8] Boulding goes on to claim that ". . . all growth phenomena have something in common, and what is more important, the classification of forms of growth and hence of theories of growth seem to cut across most of the conventional boundaries of the sciences."[9] In the theory to be developed here, the approach will be self-consciously eclectic, and little respect will be given to disciplinary boundaries.

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[5] R. C. Buck, "On the Logic of General Behavior Systems Theory," in H. Feigl and M. Scriven, eds., _Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science_, 1 (1956). Also see Herbert A. Simon and Allen Newell, "Models: Their Uses and Limitations," in Leonard D. White, ed., _The State of the Social Sciences_ (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

[6] Richard Stone, "Mathematics in the Social Sciences," _Scientific American_, 211 (1964), p. 168.

[7] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, _A Natural Science of Society_ (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 35-36.

One important factor that is shared by open systems in growth is an increase in hierarchical order. Hierarchical order, as used here, is adapted from Woodger's mathematical logic. It is exemplified by a square divided into four smaller squares, with each of these re-divided into four still smaller squares. . . . Formally, an object W belongs to a class of members, in a relation R of being a quarter of the next superordinate member.[10] This abstract logical ordering is used extensively in sociological theory. The four W-objects belonging to a class are functions and the entire class is regarded as a system. Each functional member, on the societal level, is represented by an institutional structure. For example, where society is the system under investigation, the economy, the polity, religion-management, and the family serve four social functions--goal attainment, adaption, integration, and tension management-pattern maintainance. This general theory has been developed by Parsons and his co-workers.[11] In the next chapter, we will examine one of the sub-systems of society, the family, in terms of the processes by which the child learns to meet the four functional roles of the family system.

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[8] Boulding, op. cit., p. 66.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Joseph H. Woodger, "The 'Concept of Organism' and the Relation Between Embryology and Genetics," Quarterly Review of Biology, 5/6 (1930-1931), pp. 1-3; Joseph H. Woodger, The Axiomatic Method in Biology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937).

von Bertalanffy explicates a variety of biological examples of Woodger's segregation hierarchy.[12] One type is of particular relevance to this discussion: It is hierarchical segregation. Embryonic development is cited as an obvious example of this type of order. The egg in originally a unitary system, W, which segregates in the first, second, . . ., orders. In a physical system, e. g., the space lattice of a crystal, growth comes about by the integration of separate systems. Hence biology and physical systems differ in that a biological system begins as a primary whole. The growth of the human follows the biological route. In Problems of Life, von Bertalanffy develops the thesis that hierarchical order is ". . . typical of a pattern which is of wide occurrence not only in the biological but in the psychological and sociological fields."[13] The phylogenetic growth of an individual is seen as ". . . the progressive differentiation of . . . life-functions, which were originally combined in a single cell. Similarly in the psychological field."[14] Similarly, too, in the sociological field, as the personality of the individual, originally a primary whole, undergoes a process of progressive differentiation, which goes hand in hand with progressive integration. This process, as von Bertalanffy points out, may be metaphorically spoken of as a "division of labor."[15]

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[11] See, e. g., Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951); Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951); Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953).

[12] Problems of Life, op. cit., pp. 37-54.

Social systems are often more complex than biological systems. Human social systems are without doubt the most complex in the animal kingdom.[16] Persons in a human society can serve a variety of functions, or roles, in many sub-systems of the society.[17] The increasing differentiation, and concomitant integration, of roles as human societies evolve from primitive, to traditional, to modern-industrial, has been well documented.[18] As human societies evolve, roles become more highly differentiated, and more complexly interrelated. So complex is this functional integration in human society, that the fundamental structures necessary for the maintainance of social life is a question with which anthropologists and sociologists have been preoccupied for decades. This division of labor, or progressive differentiation means, at the same time, progressive mechanization, i.e., the splitting up of the originally unitary action into a sum of separate individual actions, accompanied by a loss of regulability. This principle is illustrated by von Bertalanffy in a sociological analogy:

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[13] Ibid., p. 37.

[14] Ibid., p. 44.

[15] Ibid., p. 45.

[16] See Robert Redfield, ed., "Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Systems," Biological Symposia, Vo. 8 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942).

> In a primitive community of savages, every one is farmer, craftsman, soldier, hunter at the same time. Progress in cultural accomplishments is possible only by specialization of the members of the group in a

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[17] Radcliffe-Brown views the "coaptation," or fitting together of the behavior of individuals in a social system in such a way as to maintain a social life as the most general characteristic of social systems. Op. cit., p. 90. Social coaptation is the standardization of the behavior of individuals in the society. Ibid., p. 107. This is very close to the sociological definition of role behavior.

[18] See e.g., Leslie A. White, The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 187. A very minimal division of labor is found in societies of non-human primates today, and was undoubtedly all but lacking in man's immediate ancestors. White writes that "Technological and social differentiation and specialization are increased by additions to the amount of energy harnessed and utilized . . ." by a society. Ibid.

> craft. But then, the specialist becomes unreplaceable, and he is also much more helpless outside his usual occupation than the primitive individual.[19]

Every human society, regardless of its level of development, ascribes roles on the basis of physiological differentiation. A few simple distinctions are widely used in the distribution of functions. On this, Hawley writes:

> Sex and age differences, for example, serve universally as bases of functional differentiation in the human aggregate. . . . Age distinctions appear in connection with numerous activities, the members of one age category being separated from those of another. . . . Racial heterogeniety, wherever it occurs, forms a third generally recognized basis for the division of labor.[20]

Hence, the simple distinctions of sex, age, and race are important dimensions of role behavior. A comprehensive theory of role socialization could not ignore them. In this text, these modal roles will be examined extensively. For now, a few prefatory remarks on age will be offered.

In every human society, the basic and common biological facts of growth and pubescence[21] are marked by a set of cultural definitions which ascribe to each age grade[22] its basic characteristics. Similar distinctions of roles are made between physical characteristics and socio-cultural attributes.[23] An age grade is thus always a broad definition of human potentialities and obligations at a given stage of life. And as such, it involves general and basic role dispositions into which specific roles are built.[24] For each age grade in a society, there are diffuse patterns of behavior that are considered appropriate. There are prescribed rules for relating to people in the same age grade and in different age grades. Further, there are definite expectations of future activities: White in one age grade, a person is expected to prepare for the next. For the adolescent, the expectation of future activities of course means the fulfilling of adult roles.[25]

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[19] Problems of Life, op. cit., p. 46.

[20] Amos Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950), pp. 183-184.

[21] See David P. Ausubel, Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development (New York: Grune and Stratten, 1954).

[22] Radcliffe-Brown defines "age grade" as the ". . . recognized division of life of the individual as he passes from infancy to old age. Thus each person passes into one age grade after another . . . through the whole series." A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Age Organization Terminology," Man, 13 (1929), p. 121.

As societies change from primitive, to traditional, to modern, the nature of the set of future activities that define the adult role becomes more complex and incomprehensible to members of the adolescent age grade. In primitive society, it is not difficult for adolescents to define what will be expected of them as adults. Full adult status can be attained by a ceremony, by the various *rites de passage* and other symbols and ritualism. At the traditional level, adult roles are more diffuse and less clearly defined. Here, the rituals are reduced in importance. Traditional folk festivals of peasant communities, such as rural carnivals, in which youth and marriage are emphasized, are characteristic.[26] Marriage and family rites become more important than initiation. At the level of modern society, initiation is virtually absent, and if present, informal. The boundaries that separate adolescence from adulthood become less formalized and more diffuse. At the extreme, goals in the adult world are perceived by adolescents as so distant, vague, and unrelated to their present activities, that they increase identification with their fellow adolescents. When goals come to be sought primarily from peers rather than from adults, the result is what Coleman has described as an "adolescent subculture." He writes:

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[23] See S. Joseph Stone and Joseph Church, Childhood and Adolescence: A Psychology of the Growing Person (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 4-11.

[24] S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 22. Also see David Gottlieb, Jon Reeves, and Warren TenHouten, The Emergence of Youth Cultures: A Cross Cultural Approach, forthcoming.

[25] Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten, ibid.

> The adolescent becomes. . . "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group (and) made to carry out his social life with others of his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interaction within itself.[27]

The set of roles associated with each age grade becomes more highly differentiated and more complex as societies change to more modern types. People come to occupy highly specialized roles. The individual becomes dependent on a large number of strangers with whom he interacts in highly specific role-relations.[28]

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[26] Eisenstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten, *op. cit.*

[27] James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962), p. 3.

From the above discussion, it is apparent that there are considerable continuities between the growth processes of biological and social systems. Both kinds of systems evolve toward increasing differentiation, or inhomogeneity, and increasing integration of these differentiated elements. In this text, the particular concern will be with personality and social systems, which are of the type that organize themselves

> . . . by way of progressive differentiation, evolving from states of lower to states of higher complexity. This is, of course, the most obvious form of "self-organization," apparent in ontogenesis, probable in phylogenesis, and certainly also valid in many social organizations. . .; increase in differentiation and complexity--whether useful or not--is a criterion that is objective and at least on principle amenable to measurement. . . .[29]

To this point, we have focused on the development, or phylogeny, of species and societies. General System Theory has led to the conclusion that the growth process of each type of system involves progressive differentiation and an increase in order and complexity. In the above quotation, von Bertalanffy suggests that these principles are also "probable" in the ontogeny of the individual specimen. This is tantamount to saying that Hackel's biogenetic law that the ontological growth of the individual "recapitulates" the phylogenetic evolution of the species is extensile to individual humans and their social systems. As an organism develops, its functional systems--biological, psychological, and social--progressively differentiate and become more complexly interrelated.

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[28] Hawley, op. cit., pp. 206-208; for an elaboration, see Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937).

[29] Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "General System Theory--A Critical Review," General Systems, 7 (1962), p. 5.

At the human level, this principle leads to the thesis that the socialization of the child comes about in a manner analogous to the development of entire societies. As the person grows, he can be viewed as gaining competence in developing highly differentiated and complex roles with others in the social system. This thesis will be developed in the next section.

Some General Principles of Role Socialization

Linton has defined the socialization process as learning what one should do for other people, and what one is entitled to expect from them.[30] Learning in turn can be defined as "The totality of those processes by which the person utilizes experience to comprehend and manipulate the environment.[31]

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[30] Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century, 1945), p. 18.

[31] Ives Hendrick, "Early Development of the Ego," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 20 (1951), pp. 41-61; M. F. Ashley-Montagu, op. cit., p. 2.

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In examining the socialization process, it is necessary to examine the relationship between personality and social structure. Following Murphy, man will be regarded as " . . . nodal region, an organized field within a larger field, a region of perpetual interaction, a reciprocity of outgoing and incoming energies."[32] According to this eclectic view, man is neither atonomous, nor a whole defined entirely by his social environment, but a ". . . structured organism-environment field, each aspect which stands in dynamic relation to other aspects. . . . "[33] Levinson too has emphasized that the relationships between role definitions, personality, and social structure must be placed analytically in both interpersonal and structural-environmental contexts.[34] An attempt will be made to focus on the personal system, which represents ". . . the totality of the relatively enduring attributes which characterize an individual."[35] Physical and social attributes, particularly the age-sex-race roles of the person, and family background variables, will be interrelated in a theoretical structure, which will also include the child's idea system (his beliefs, attitudes, and values), the child's personality structure, and the child's modes of adaptation and behavioral striving. These general aspects of the more inclusive "personal system" will be related to role socialization throughout this text.

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[32] Gardner Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 7.

[33] Ibid., p. 8.

[34] Daniel J. Levinson, "Role, Personality, and Social Structure in the Organizational Setting," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 58 (1959), pp. 170-180. Also see J. Milton Yinger, "Research Implications of a Field View of Personality," American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (1963), pp. 170-180.

[35] Alex Inkeles and Daniel Levinson, "The Personal System and the Sociocultural System in Large-scale Organizations," Sociometry, 26 (1936), p. 220.

Herbert Spencer was the first social theorist to develop the concept that all growth involves a progressive accentuation of differences arising from an originally homogeneous matrix.[36] Thus, Spencer anticipated von Bertalanffy's principles of progressive differentiation and progressive mechanization. Werner has supplied a wealth of evidence for this conceptualization. He generalized that the growth process consists of three distinct levels: (1) The level of global, undifferentiated mass activity; (2) A level of differentiated parts, each acting more or less autonomously; (3) A level of integrated action based upon integration of the parts.[37] This conceptualization is closely parallel to Piaget's stages in the child's mental development. Indissociation is Piaget's term for the stage of undifferentiated perceptual blur, where dissociation, or differentiation, has not occurred. Indissociation

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[36] Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Biology (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886).

[37] Heinz Werner, Comparative Psychology of Mental Development (Chicago: Follett, 1948); Heinz Werner and Edith Kaplin, "The Acquisition of Word Meanings: A Developmental Study," Child Development Monograph, 15 (1950), Serial

(coenethesis) implies a lack of distinction not only between external objects but between the phases of the self, which is found in the perception of the behavior of others.[38] This theory is arrived at by genetically tracing the emergences of cognative representations through ontogenetic stages, and by treating development in a biological framework. In evaluating Werner, Piaget, and others, Scheerer finds that the increase in functional organization associated with the growth proces is a precondition for qualitatively different levels of performance. The more developed the organization, the higher performance. He cites impressive evidence from both biology and developmental psychology.[39]

Thus, the growth of cognitive capacity is seen in terms of the progressive differentiation of elements within the cognitive system and a later increase in interdependence of the differentiated elements. Using a General System Theory approach, we see that the structural growth of a variety of open systems has been found to obey the same principles. Our particular interest here is the role socialization of human youth. We are interested in the processes

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No. 1, No. 1. H. A. Witkin, et al., Psychological Differentiation (New York: Wiley, 1962).

[38] J. Piaget, "Principal Factors Determining Intellectual Evolution from Childhood to Adult Life," in Factors Determining Human Behavior (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), pp. 32-48.

[39] Martin Scheerer, "Cognative Theory," in Gardner Lindzey, ed., Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I, Theory and Method (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), p. 136. Also see pp. 132-135. In addition to

by which a child develops an adult personality. From the discussion to this point, it certainly seems reasonable that the development of integrated adult role behavior comes about by these same principles, and that role socialization is a special case.

An outstanding book by Murphy found that the growth of the human personality does in fact follow the stages outlined first by Spencer and later by Werner and Piaget and others. In this book, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, Murphy traces the socialization of the individual in the terminology of role theory, as ". . . the concept of role and role interaction formulated by Bateson, occupies a key position in his account of the socialization of the indivdual."[40] Murphy's role theory approach makes his analysis crucial for the theory to be developed here. In addition to the substantive relevance of Murphy's Personality, we have seen that the methodology is also consistent with our approach.

Werner and Piaget, the following are cited as evidence: P. Weiss, Principles of Development (New York: Holt, 1939); C. M. Child, Physiological Foundations of Behavior (New York: Holt, 1924); W. Stern, Psychology of Early Childhood (New York: Holt, 1930); Charlotte H. Buhler, The First Year of Life (New York: Day, 1930).

[40] Cited in Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 520. The complete reference to Murphy's book was given in ff 32. Hall and Lindzey add that he sees the socialized person as ". . . playing a reportoire of roles which have been defined for him by society in terms of his age, sex, race . . . and other groups to which he belongs," ibid. Also see Gregory Bateson, Naven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

In Murphy's first, or global stage, there is undifferentiated wholeness, in which the body reacts as a whole to stimulation. In the second, or differentiated stage, separate functions are differentiated out of the global matrix. In the third, or integrated state, the differentiated functions become an organized co-ordinated unity. Hall and Lindzey present a synopsis of this pattern of structural growth that is adequate for this discussion.[41]

> In the global form of organization, there are no differentiated parts; everything is homogeneous. There are no nodes or gradients or traits or regions. Energy is diffused throughout the whole system, and the system functions as a totality in response to external stimulation. Such global behavior is usually referred to as mass activity. This is the primordial or earliest type of organizations, the undifferentiated matrix which exists in the beginning of life.
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> In the differentiated form of organization, there are separate and distinct parts or regions. Instead of energy being diffused throughout the personality, it is parceled out among the various differentiated systems of personality. The responses of the person are specific rather than general and perceptions, memories, attitudes, ideas, and values are discreet rather than unitary. Heterogeneity, separateness, and independence are the primary properties of the differentiated organization.
>
> The third type, that of integration, represents the unification of discreet parts into an interlocking, intercommunicating, and interdependent system. Energy passes easily from one region to another so that there is a miximum of communication between the various components of personality. The behavior of the individual is organized and the adjustment of the whole person to his environment is the main consideration. Interdependence is the keynote of this mode of organization.

This formulation is clearly consistent with our General System Theory orientation. In this book, however, the terminology will place more emphasis on interpersonal systems, rather than on intrapersonal systems. Role socialization will be viewed as the progressive attainment of differentiated, and then integrated, interpersonal role relations with socializing reference groups and with peers.

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[41] Hall and Lindzey, op. cit., p. 509.

The infant stage of the human life cycle is characterized by global organization. The social patterns of youth, however, very early become differentiated as the child learns to distinguish between basic roles in his family and then outside of the family, in the peer group and the school. Pre-adolescent groups, as we shall see in Chapter VI, can be highly characterized as a differentiated social structure. By late adolescence, the high school student has developed sociologically to the point where their social interaction can be described as at least partially integrated. Full integration, however, comes only with the attainment of full adult status in society, marked by full participation in the occupational system and in the family of procreation.[42] In Chapter VI, sociometric experiments will be used to measure the relative level of socialization of age-sex-race groups, in terms of their progress in going from differentiated to integrated groups. In that chapter, and elsewhere, the rates of socialization of various groups will be empirically measured. Prior to this measurement, a theory of role socialization will be developed to enable us to predict which groups will be socialized the most rapidly.

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[42] Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 30, writes that entrance into the adult age grade usually, almost necessarily, coincides with the transition from the family of orientation to that of procreation, as it is through this transition that the definite change of age roles, from receiver to transmitter of the cultural tradition, from child to parents, is effected.

The socialization process has been viewed as involving the learning of more and more complex and integrated role relationships. Socialization is a process of sociological growth. This kind of growth, as we have seen, is homologous with other kinds of growth in living open systems. This General System framework leads to a conceptualization central to the whole theoretical schema of this book.

If a child's social environment is sub-optimal in that it does not facilitate his attaining integrated adult roles in the society, his sociological development can be viewed as retarded. Retarded socialization means that the child will be slower to develop a differentiated personality, and then slower to develop an integrated personality. Murphy has pointed out that the processes of changing from the global to the differentiated to the integrated stages can not only be retarded, but reversed. He writes:

> The steps in differentiation and integration are . . . sometimes reversible. Differentiation may be lost in disease or even in frustration.[43] so that global, stage-one conditions recur. So, too, integration may be lost, permitting reestablishment of the second, differentiated stage, whether in absent-minded and other "disociated" states of daily life or in such experiments as those of

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[43] Murphy is referring to R. Barker, T. Dembo, and Kurt Lewin, "Frustration and Regression: An Experiment With Children," University of Iowa Studies: Studies of Child Welfare, 18 (1940), No. 1.

Girden and Culler,[44] who by means of drugs have separated the dog's habit system into two subsystems.[45]

There is nothing startling, or nothing very new, about this formulation. Realizing, however, that the present state of role socialization theory does not provide criteria by which to compare the level of social development of various groups, this conceptual framework emerges as cogent, viable, and meriting elaboration. On the first page, the necessity of explicating general processes of normal social growth, as ". . . a necessary preliminary to the search for causal explanation."[46] Having utilized General System Theory to construct such criteria for the measurement of structural growth, we are now prepared to construct a substantive theory of role socialization. After taking up role theory proper in the next section, General System Theory and Role Theory will be used in conjunction to explain the socialization of adolescents. The orientation is particularly relevant for the socialization of adolescents, for it is at the adolescent age that the personality, the ego identity of the child, becomes integrated. Erikson, in his development of eight epigenetic stages of the life cycle, has theorized that the stage of "puberty and adolescence" is the critical stage in the development of role identity, and the overcoming of role confusion.[47] He writes:

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[44] E. Girden and E. Culler, "Conditional Responses in Curarized Striate Muscle in Dogs," Journal of Comparative Psychology, 23 (1937), pp. 261-274.

[45] Murphy, op. cit., p. 67.

[46] Harold Fallding, "Functional Analysis in Sociology," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 9.

> The integration now taking place (at the adolescent stage) in the form of ego identity is, as pointed out, more than the sum of the childhood identifications. It is the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities offered in social roles.[48]

Role Theory and Role Socialization

In this section, an attempt will be made to relate role theory to the role socialization of late adolescents. Hopefully, this presentation, in conjunction with what has preceeded, will constitute a prolegomenon to a theoretical explanation of the role socialization of Negro and Caucasian youth.

The functioning of social systems depends on patterns of reciprocal role behavior between individuals in specified locations. Polar positions of actors, their locations, are technically denoted statuses. A status is a position in a particular pattern of reciprocal behavior. It is a set of expectations applied to an incumbant of a particular position in a social structure.[49] Linton writes: "A rôle represents

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[47] Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego-Identity," Journal of the American Psychiatric Association, 4 (1956), pp. 56-121.

[48] Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1950), p. 261.

[49] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936); Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945).

represents the dynamic aspect of status. . . . When (an individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a rôle."[50] Another definition cited treats the concept as an ". . . individual's definition of his situation with reference to his an others' social position."[51] A third conceptualization deals with role as ". . . the behavior of actors occupying social positions."[52] Here, the role is the manner in which a person carries off the requirements of his position.[53] All three of these conceptualizations, position, perceived expectations, and behavior,[54] are useful. The utility of each conception varies with the frame of reference of the empirical theory to which it is applied. Within this research, all three usages will be employed: (1) We will examine the processes by which adolescents attain general roles in the total society; here, we are close to Linton's perspective in that we will deal with ascribed "pre-social" positional characteristics. According to Linton, there are four ". . . reference points for the ascription of status . . . : age, sex, family relationships (biological), and birth into a particular social group."[55] (2) Within the social system of the high school, and in the family, we will examine the child's definition of social interactional systems; here, Sargent's definition is appropriate (see ff 51). Parsons and Shils use this definition;[56] in a related theory of role socialization in the nuclear family. Parsons and Bales are even more explicit in using this perspective.[57]

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[50] Linton, Study of Man, p. 114.

[51] Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 13. Part I of this book presents a thorough analysis of role theory. Sargent's definition is typical of this usage of role: ". . . a person's role is a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demands and expectations of those in the group." In Stansfeld Sargent, "Concepts of Role and Ego in Contemporary Psychology," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, eds., Social Psychology at the Crossroads (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 360.

[52] Gross, Mason, and McEachern, ibid., p. 14. Emphasized in text.

[53] See Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948), p. 90.

[54] Frank Sim (private communication) has pointed out that positions, expectations, and behavior are the primary components of role systems, and that in systems terminology, this may be equivalent to exchanges of propensities (expectations) and flows (behavior) between components (positions) in a system. For a mathematical analysis of systems defined in these terms, see Herman E. Loenig, Yilmaz Tokad, and Miremagular K. Kesavan,

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Analysis of Discreet Physical Systems--Part I (East Lansing, Michigan: Department of Electrical Engineering, Michigan State University, 1963).

[55] Linton, The Study of Man, *op. cit*., pp. 115-116. Cf. Hawley, ff 20.

[56] Talcott Parsons and Edward A Shils, with the assistance of James Olds, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Toward a General Theory of Action, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-275.

[57] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955). This book will be examined in detail in Chapter III. This notion of social expectations is central to the formulations of Linton, Parsons, and Davis: See Gross, Mason, and McEachern, *op. cit*., p. 18.

(3) In examining processes by which students become oriented to various reference groups in an interactive attempt to attain adult roles, we will focus on the third definition: The emphasis will be on the actual performance of roles in given positions.

It has been stated that human societies are extremely complex. First of all, roles in concrete social systems are highly differentiated, i.e., there are a huge number of role performances that make complimentary contributions to the functioning of a social system.[58] Further, a person performs many roles in a social system, and in overlapping sub-systems. On this, Linton writes: "Every individual has a series of roles deriving from the various patterns in which he participates and at the same time a role, general, which represents the sum total of these roles and determines what he does for his society and what he can expect from it."[59] A persons general role depends in large part on his general statuses. We have already seen that these general statuses are often allocated according to biological criteria--with age, sex, and race contributing the most to a person's role in his society. Hawley points out, that of these three criteria, age and sex are almost universally regarded as a unit, since ". . . membership in a particular age-sex category, or in one of a clearly differentiated group of such categories, will be found to be a prerequisite for the occupation of practically any status within a given social system."[60] The predictibility of the behavior of a member of a certain age-sex category is increased by knowledge of the ". . . universal tendency for members of all age-sex categories above the infant level to develop at least some sense of category solidarity, based on community of knowledge and interest."[61] There is a predictible tendency for certain cultural patterns to be expressed and transmitted by members of age-sex categories.

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[58] Linton, The Study of Man, op. cit., p. 202.

[59] Ibid.

The importance of age-sex categories is more important within the family than without. Within the family, membership in association and statuses bears a very close relationship to age-sex categories.[62] In this chapter, and in the next, we will examine age and sex roles within the nuclear family, and the interrelationships between these roles and roles outside of the family, in a context of the socialization of children.

The socialization process involves the learning of "correct" role behavior by youth. Socialization is not automatic: The immediate and environing social systems, in their interrelations, determine the eventual outcome of the process. It is also true that "correct" role behavior is not equivalent to socialization. For instance, if adolescents are expected to participate in less integrated systems as adults than they presently are--this would be a process of de-socialization. The attainment of full adult status in a given society, by the same reasoning, does not necessarily mean the adults are fully socialized. Hence, our conceptualization of the socialization provides absolute criteria, and is not culturally relative.

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[60] Hawley, op. cit., pp. 183-184. Also see section 3 of Chapter I.

[61] Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), pp. 592-593.

[62] Ibid.

The more adequate the social environment of the growing child, the better the child will learn to perform roles commensurate with his ascribed statuses and the higher will be his achieved statuses. This learning of social roles takes place in a context of interaction with others. This is absolutely necessary. The necessity of human stimulation for social development follows from the bio-social nature of the person (especially with respect to the infant-dependency relationship between the mother and the neonate[63]) and from the symbolic nature of human learning and conduct.[64]

In the process of learning adult roles, the child must learn to comprehend roles presently occupied by the adults who are in a position to teach him. The reciprocal nature of interaction makes role performance contingent on the adolescent understanding all of the roles involved in his training.[65] The extent to which socialization is successful depends on the extent to which role socializers are in a set of positions that enable them to provide adequate role models for the acquisition of roles.

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[63] Montagu, op. cit., p. 17 et passum.

[64] On this, Davis writes: ". . . the instigating symbols and socially defined goals of children, as well as of adults, are ordered to systems of appropriate age, sex, and kin behavior." Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, 6 (1941), p. 345.

In discussing these learning processes, we will follow Mead,[66] and Park and Burgess[67] in regarding role as the unit of socialization, and in regarding the self (or the personality) as the internalization of roles. This will be the subject of the next several chapters. Then, in Chapter X, we will turn to an examination of the processes of interaction by which adult roles are attained.

Out of the imbroglio of mechanisms and processes associated with learning in the broad sense, Sarbin has enucleated two main ways in which new roles are learned. New roles are attained through two broadly defined interactional processes: intentional instruction, and incidental

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[65] Linton, The Study of Man, op. cit., ; Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956); George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), esp. pp. 253-257. Mead defines this process as "Taking the role of the other." He writes: "In so far as a man takes the attitude of one individual in the group, he must take it in his relationship to the action of the other members of the group; and if he is to fully adjust himself, he would have to take the attitudes of all involved in the process." Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to

learning. Sarbin points out that every set of role expectations is probably an admixture of expectations acquired through both of these processes, i.e., they operate conjointly.[68] The two processes are, however, at least _analytically_ distinct. In intentional instruction, the culture carriers in any society attempt to teach prescribed acts. This refers to institutions of role socialization for the performance of such acts. The rewarding of boys for certain kinds of actions, and of girls for certain others, for example, is intentional instruction for sex-role learning. Incidental learning refers to processes of identification with, and emulation of, role models in the learner's behavioral field. Intentional instruction is the more formal of the two processes, but does not invariably have a more consistent structure. We will define a socializer that teaches by intentional instruction as a "role socializer," and a socializer that teaches by incidental learning as a "role model."

Before turning to the substantive problem of role socialization in the nuclear family, we will first consider the relationships between roles and role socialization. A set of propositions developed by Cottrell will be used in this

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the Science of Society (second edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924).

[68] Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Lindzey, _Handbook_, _op. cit._, p. 225.

analysis.[69] These propositions represent an important integration of explicit and implicit findings on research in roles defined by age, sex, class, and other general roles.[70] These statements themselves will not be under analysis. Less general statements derived from them will be defined as "hypotheses." *Propositions 1-4* will be used in Chapter III and in Chapter IV. *Proposition 5* will be used only in Chapter IV.

Proposition 1: The degree of adjustment to a future role varies directly with the degree to which the future role is defined.

Stouffer has implied that the relation between adjustment and role definition may not be as linear as described in this proposition. He writes that ". . . it may be that the very existence of some flexibility or social slippage--

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[69] Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (1942), pp. 617-620. Cottrell's emphasis on the interactional and self-other bases of role, is, according to Gross, Mason, and McEachern, ". . . a lineal descendent of Mead's interpretation of the concept. . ." in which "roles are considered to be elements of concrete interaction situations," *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[70] Among these studies: Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1941); Allison Davis, "American Status Systems," *op. cit.*; Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South* (Washington, D. C.: The American Council of Education, 1940); Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: Morrow, 1935); Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry*, 1 (1938), pp. 161-167.

but not too much--which makes behavior in groups possible."[71] Stouffer's reservation should certainly be kept in mind, but it is least cogent for socialization, a social process that institutionalizes instability in the child's role expectations, particularly in a complex industrial society like the United States. We shall see in the next chapter that there is often a poor definition of the adult role available to the adolescent, and particularly for the Negro adolescent.

Proposition 2: The degree of adjustment to a future role varies directly with the amount of opportunity for:

1. Emotionally intimate contact which allows identification with persons functioning in the role.
2. Imagined or incipient rehearsalin the future role, and
3. Practice in the role through play or other similar activity.

These processes of identification with, and emulation of, role models has been defined as incidental learning.

Proposition 3: The degree of adjustment to a future role varies directly with the degree of importance attached to and the definiteness of the transitional procedures used by the society in designating the change in role.

This purposive planning of transmitting culture to the child is, of course, Sarbin's second type of role socialization--intentional instruction.

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[71] Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," American Sociological Review, 14 (149), p. 708.

Proposition 4: The degree of adjustment to a future role varies directly with the completeness of the shift in the responses and expectations exhibited by the society to the individual in his new role.

In the broadest terms, this implies that the role adjustment of any race or race-sex group to future roles depends on the extent to which relevant persons and groups ascribe roles of full adult status. In Chapter I, we examined a variety of evidence that suggests the responses of society to the Negro serve to retard their sociological growth and to arrest them at low status positions in the society.

Proposition 5: Adjustment to more mature roles is aided rather than handicapped by occasional regression to less demanding roles.

Murphy has been cited to the effect that the stages of growth can at times be reversed. Here, we see that this reversal can under certain conditions speed up rather than retard the socialization process. An example of how such a regressive behavior pattern works will be presented in Chapter IV.

In the formulation of these propositions, role consensus is not assumed: It is left as an empirical variable. Cottrell was one of the earliest sociologists to recognize the theoretical importance of doing this. With respect to roles as basic as sex, and race, there is, of course, great variability in the behavior of position incumbants; at the same time, the expected patterns are defined with a high degree of concensus. Linton defines these expected role behaviors as "ideal" patterns. He writes:

> In general, ideal patterns appear to be developed most frequently with respect to those situations which a society regards as of primary importance and particularly with respect to those involving the interaction of individuals in different positions in the social system.[72]

Linton's statements on the level of agreement of role expectations on age, sex, and family position is undoubtedly overstated. For example, Gross, Mason, and McEachern point out that ". . . the few empirical studies on the degree of agreement on the evaluative standards applicable to the female position in American society all conclude that there is a high degree of disagreement among the role definitions used."[73] Further, this is not explained by the complexity of industrial societies, as anthropological studies of primitive people also reveal a lack of sex role consensus.[74] Granted that all societies lack role consensus to a certain extent, it is further true that as societies increase in complexity, role consensus decreases.[75]

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[72] Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[73] Ibid., p. 28. The following studies are cited as evidence: Arnold M. Rose, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," Social Forces, 30 (1951), pp. 69-77; Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, LII (1946), pp. 184-189; Paul Wallin, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: A Repeat Study," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 288-293. For still further evidence, see: Robert R. Bell, Marriage and Family Interaction (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1963), pp. 257-263; John P. McKee and Alex C. Sherrifs, "Men's and Women's Beliefs, Ideals and Self-Concepts," in Jerome M. Seidman, The Adolescent (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 291; Ray E. Baker, Marriage and the Family (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953), p. 378; Nelson N. Foote, "New Roles for Men and Women," Marriage and Family Living (1961), p. 97.

Consensus on basic roles also varies within a society. For example, in American society, there is a significant difference in the familial sex roles of Negro and Caucasian parents. In the theory to be developed in the next chapter, it will be shown that, for Negroes, there is an excess of what Stouffer calls "flexibility or social slippage."[76]

In this section, we have seen that roles are learned through interaction with others. Such interaction provides the learning child with the necessary instructions and models to produce his own adult role. As Brim points out, group structure influences the degree of interaction between group members, and is related to the types of roles learned in the group. The roles most easily learned by the child are the ones the child can himself play, rehearse, and identify with, and the roles of others with whom the child interacts.[77] These others ". . . hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and . . . are able to reward and punish . . . for correct and incorrect actions. As part of the same learning process, one acquires expectations of how others in the group will behave . . . to predict what others expect of him, and how they will react to him, in order to guide his own role performance successfully."[78]

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[74] See Oscar Lewis, "Husbands and Wives in a Mexican Village: A Study of Role Conflict," American Anthropologist, LI (1949), p. 610. Also see: Mirra Komarvosky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 508-516; L. M. Terrman and Catherine C. Miles, Sex and Personality: Studies in Masculinity and Feminity (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936).

[75] This point has been discussed in terms of age roles in this chapter.

[76] See ff 70.

We are now ready to proceed to the substantive theory of the role socialization of Negro and white boys and girls. In Chapter III, Parsonian and Freudian theory, in conjunction with General Systems theory, will be used to examine family roles important to socialization. Social science literature will be presented, as a state description of the situations of race sex groups. The theoretical propositions and the state description will be used to deduce many hypotheses (theorems) about the relative performances of these groups. It should be emphasized that the secondary literature, by itself does not justify the propositions, which are not tested directly. Instead, the deduced theorems will be tested in a variety of contexts. It should further be emphasized that the hypotheses may not apply to other sociocultural situations, as they are contingent upon the state description.

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[77] Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Family Structure and Sex-Role Learning by Children," Sociometry, 21 (1958), pp. 1-16.

[78] Ibid., p. 1.

CHAPTER III

ROLE SOCIALIZATION IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY: PARENTS AS SOCIALIZERS

On Parsons and Bales' Theory of Role Socialization in the Nuclear Family

The extent to which certain kinds of role socializers provide opportunities for the growing child varies according to the statuses--age, sex, and race--of the socializee. There are systematic differentials in opportunities that are not peculiar to persons and groups in role segments, such as the family,[1] but are inherent in the social structure of American society. It will be the task of this research to systematically examine the opportunity structure of different status groups in terms of specific role socializers. Parents, siblings, and age peers will be examined first, and in that order. Later in the text, the adjustment of high school students to the educational institutions in which they participate will be studied empirically.

Socialization begins in the family. In the early stages of development, the family constitutes the entire human environment of the child. Hence, it is appropriate to begin with the family. It is advantageous to begin here for another reason however. For an outstanding beginning to a theory of role socialization in the family, using an approach similar to our General System Theory strategy is available at the outset. This is Parsons' and Bales' book entitled Family, Socialization and Interaction Process.[2]

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[1] Role segmentation may be defined as ". . . two or more structurally distinct units which perform essentially the same function in the system." In Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," in Talcott Parsons, *et al.*, eds., *Theories of Society*: *Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 42.

The nuclear family, a role segment, can never in itself be a society: The family is a small and highly differentiated subsystem of society. Parents, as socializing agents, occupy roles not only within the family, but concomitantly occupy roles in other subsystems. This is a necessity for their being effective socializing agents, for, as socializers, they must prepare their children for roles outside of the family, i.e., roles in society. The child must be prepared for role performance in the peer group, in the school, and finally into the major systems of society--the occupational structure, and in the family of procreation. Maturity, the completion of the socialization process is defined as ". . . participation in a role-system composed of adults which involves function on behalf of the total society as a system."[3]

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[2] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955). The main outlines of the theory used here are presented in Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of The Child," ibid., Chapter II, pp. 35-133. Here, the emphasis will be on parent-child roles rather than on parent-parent roles.

Society is not a system of interaction, but " . . . an intricate network of interdependent and interpenetrating subsystems. This has been one of the most important contributions of the concept of role, to throw into relief the fact that the same individiual participates in many social systems, not merely one; he has multiple roles."[4]

The structure of the family represents an elementary level of differentiation of roles, especially the mother-child subsystem.[5] The development of the human from infancy to maturity can be analyzed in terms of the differentiation of the personality.[6] Hence, Parsons' analysis of the development of the person is entirely consistent with the General System Theory formulation developed in Chapter II.

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[3] Ibid., p. 385.

[4] Parsons, "Family Structure," ibid., p. 36.

[5] We shall see that this theory suffers from an incompleteness of the family role structure in that siblings are only marginally included in the theory, in that role relations between siblings are left out. This is characteristic of nearly all theories of child development, e.g., of Freudian theory. A preliminary attempt to remove this hiatus will be presented in Chapter IV. In later chapters, particularly in Chapter X, older siblings will be included in a set of reference groups potentially interacted with in terms of attaining educational and occupational goals (roles).

[6] See Talcott Parsons and James Olds, "The Mechanism of Personality Functioning with Special Reference to Socialization," in Parsons and Bales, Family, op. cit., Chapter IV, pp. 187-259.

The nuclear family, though simpler than society, is too complicated for the child to understand. Comprehension of the roles in the family, a segment of society, is a basic process in socialization. This comprehension is attained in distinct and discontinuous phases. As the child is socialized, and comes to understand the roles in his family, he also solves four functional problems for his personality system, by changing the role relations he has with each parent.

The four functional problems the growing child must solve are adaptation, allocation (goal attainment), social integration, and normative integration. In the context of this theory of socialization, with its focus on concrete social structures, in contrast to Parsons' usual emphasis on abstract systems of action, the choice of a performism or an epigenisis model, after von Bertalanffy, is not crucial. It makes little difference--for our purposes--whether learned roles are new functions or elaborations of old ones. The issue is an important aside.[7] Concretely, all that matters is that new roles are learned in processes of interaction in the family.[8]

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[7] Etzioni points out that much of sociological theory, and Parsonian theory in particular, uses a "preformism" model, in which the same functions are met in every system at every stage of its development. In the Family, Parsons modifies this to some extent in that the child must learn to meet functions that at first he cannot solve. von Bertalanffy's approach differs, as he uses an "epigenesis" model, according to which new functions are added as the

There are, according to this theory, four basic roles in the family, excluding sibling-sibling relationships. These roles are determined by age grade (by generation) and by sex. The four roles are male parent, female parent, male child, and female child. The parents in the nuclear family have roles differentiated on two main dimensions: Power, and instrumental (task)-expressive priority. The parents are superior to their children with respect to power. The male parent role is predominantly instrumental; the female parent, predominantly expressive. Hence, the father is instrumental-superior, and is called the "instrumental task leader." The mother is expressive-superior, and is called the "expressive task leader."[9] The male

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system develops. See Amitai Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the National Level," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (1963), pp. 407-421.

[8] This is somewhat of a departure for Parsonian theory in that interaction is treated as an independent variable, determining values, rather than values determining interaction. Socialization is defined in terms of internalizing the objective world, i.e., gaining and learning roles and values.

[9] On this typology, see Robert F. Bales and Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-Making Groups," in Parsons and Bales, Family, op. cit., Chapter V, pp. 259-306; Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Groups," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), pp. 300-310; Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the

child is instrumental-inferior; the female child, expressive-inferior.

Since the family is a small group, this formulation is seen as being extensile to small groups theory. The validity of this step is, of course, dependent on the extent to which there are general principles of small group interaction. Liek has recently presented data which suggests that, with respect to instrumental-expressive role allocation between males and females, ". . . relatively little data exists in direct support of the equivalence of families and other small groups."[10]

A basic discovery made by Freud is that socialization is a discontinuous process. This theory is consistent with the Freudian conceptualizations: Distinct phases are recognized in role learning, as well as in psycho-sexual development.[11] The child is first presented a simple subsystem,

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Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in Parsons and Bales, ibid., Chapter VI; Fred L. Strodtbeck and Richard D. Mann, "Sex-Role Differentiation in Jury Deliberations," Sociometry, 19 (1956), pp. 3-11; William F. Kenkel, "Influence Differentiation in Family Decision Making," Sociology and Social Research, 42 (1957), pp. 18-25; Jerald S. Heiss, "Degree of Intimacy and Male-Female Interaction," Sociometry, 25 (1962), pp. 197-208.

[10] Robert K. Liek, "Instrumentality and Emotionality in Family Interaction," Sociometry, 26 (1963), pp. 131-132.

[11] The two theories are also similar in that each phase requires reorganization of the structure of the personality as a system.

and is then exposed to systems of increasing complexity. By a process akin to "binary fission," the child learns new dimensions that divide his old world. This process, according to Parsons, involves the progressive solving of four basic functional needs. A "role" is viewed not as a need-disposition as such, but as a subsystem of the personality, which is motivated by needs.[12] The temporal sequence of meeting the four functional needs is important, as some sequences are more efficient than others. For socialization, the optimal sequence is normative integration (latentcy), social integration, goal attainment, and adaptation.[13] The solution of each problem corresponds to a phase in social-sexual development in Freudian theory, which progresses from oral, to anal, to Oedipal (phallic), and finally to genital (maturity). As Foote observes, in Family, ". . . Freud's series of stages in psycho-sexual development is worked together with Parsons' scheme of pattern variables. This is done through setting out a conception of personality development in which, by a parallel process of differentiation, the child simultaneously undergoes elaboration of internal need-disposition and external object categorizations."[14] Here, Parsons not only follows Bales' assumption of isomorphy between small groups and the family, but claims isomorphy between personality and the social system, between need-dispositions and roles.[15]

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[12] Therapy also goes in this direction: It is a special case of socialization. See, e.g., Talcott Parsons and Renee C. Fox, "Illness, Therapy, and the Modern Urban American Family," Journal of Social Issues, 13 (1952), pp. 31-44. This view was first developed in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe, Illinios: The Free Press, 1953), Chapter V, Section vii.

[13] The four stages of development are analyzed in more detail in Parsons and Olds, op. cit., p. 229. A new fifth stage is identified at the end of the socialization process: This is identification.

The newly born child is strictly speaking not a member of the family, as he has no "self" and no role. He is a possession, valued and cared for, within an orientation of permissiveness. Since the mother cannot meet all the needs of the growing child, inevitable frustrations will occur, and the child will learn to associate gratification with his own proto-social actions, and in accordance with the mother's pattern of care. This is the "mother-child identity."[16] It is the first stage of development, or the Latent stage. For

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[14] Nelson N. Foote, "Parsonian Theory of Family Process: FAMILY, Socialization and Interaction Process," Sociometry, 19 (1956), p. 44.

[15] Alfred L. Baldwin, "The Parsonian Theory of Personality," in Max Black, ed., The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons: A Critical Examination (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 185.

[16] Cf. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1950). This was discussed in Chapter II: see ffs 47 and 48.

Freud, this stage refers to "primary identification" and the establishment of oral dependency.[17]

The second stage begins very early with a long transition period. The child has by this stage differentiated between himself and the collectivity. Now, he learns that there is a power differential, and that he is controlled by the mother, and is dependent on her. Social support enters at this phase, and the parents try to encourage the child's behavior. The transition here is from oral- to love-dependency. At this second stage, the child becomes "incorporated" into the family social system. Because the child lacks power, he must specialize in the expressive direction. Here, we have the development of a two-role system. The mother first cares for and then loves; the child first loves and then cares. This stage corresponds to the Freudian anal-complex.

The third level of development is the Oedipal phase, in which the child undergoes a transition from an integrated membership in a two-member interaction system where power and support are fused, to integration in a four-member system, where these two axes of differentiation are segreated out. Here, then is a bifurcation on the instrumental-expressive dimension of each of the earlier roles. At this stage, the child discriminates between the sexes of his parents: The affective love attachment to the mother is disturbed by the father. This process corresponds to the Freudian Oedipal complex: The male child wants to possess the mother, but realizes that the father owns her, so he eventually identifies with the father. The functional problem met at this stage is goal-attainment.

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[17] Sigmund Freud, The Problem of Anxiety, trans. H. A. Bunker (New York: The Psychoanalytic Quarterly and W. W. Norton and Company, 1931).

The mother becomes more expressive as the father becomes dominant, or powerful. The child learns that there are different demands on boys and girls. The boy is socialized to be "tough," to be instrumental. The girl is trained to be expressive.

According to Freud, the Oedipal complex is more difficult for girls to resolve than boys. Parsons, after Mower, rejects this Freudian view, contending instead that the boy

> . . . has to undergo at this stage a double "emancipation." In common with his sister he has to recognize that, in a sense previously so important, he must not pretend to adulthood, he is unequivocally a child. But as differentiated from her, he must substitute a new identification with an unfamiliar and in a very important sense threatening object, the father, at the expense of his previous solidarity with his mother. . . . The girl, on the other hand, though she must internalize the father as an object, does so only in his role as instrumental leader of the family as a system, not in the dual role which includes sex-role-model as well. Similarly, she remains categorized with her mother by sex, which coincides with previous a-sexual (but not non-erotic) mother-child solidarity.[18]

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[18] Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 98-99.

This conceptualization, as mentioned, is a departure from Freud, who assumed that since ". . . the object choice is primary and identification derived therefrom, . . . the sexual development of boys is simplier than that of girls, since boys can at an early date take women as sex objects," but boys must abandon the first sex object--the mother--in favor of men.[19] Parsons, as Broffenbrenner points out, follows Mowrer in taking the position that the situation is reversed: Both children first identify with the mother, but the boy must abandon the mother as a model and shift his loyalties and ambitions to the father. It is obvious that Freud and Parsons are using the word "identification" is different senses. For Freud, "identification" is primary; in the process of identification, the child ". . . endeavours to mould a person's own ego after the fashion of one that has been taken as a 'model'."[20] For Parsons, there is a series of successive identifications which are, as Broffenbrenner notes, ". . . determined by the reciprocal roles being taken by parent and child at successive stages of development."[21] It is Mowrer who must be credited with this formulation, for he suggested that ". . . the series of identifications through which the child passes involves the progressive differentiation (cf. Chapter II) of social objects first with respect to age and then to sex."[22] This formulation, as we have seen, is the core of Parsons' theory.

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[19] O. H. Mowrer, "Identification: A Link Between Learning Theory and Psychotherapy," in Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics (New York: Ronald Press, 1950), p. 607. Cited in Urie Broffenbrenner, "Parsons' Theory of Identification," in Black, op. cit., p. 196. Also see O. H. Mowrer, "Neurosis and Psychotherapy as Interpersonal Processes: A Synopsis," in O. H. Mowrer, ed., Psychotherapy: Theory and Research (New York: Ronald Press, 1953), pp. 69-94.

[20] Sigmund Freud, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego (London: Hogarth Press, 1948), pp. 62-63.

Hence, we see that Freud, and Parsons and Mowrer, use "identification" in different ways. Freud, with his great emphasis on past psycho-sexual identification, differs from Parsons and Mowrer, who emphasize future sex-role identification. It is possible that both formulations are right in that it may be harder for girls to resolve breaking the past identity with the mother (as there is no change in the boy's sexual identification with females), and at the same time harder for boys to establish future identity with the father's sex-role than for the girl to establish identity with the mother's sex-role.

The theories of Mowrer and Parsons, though evidently developed independently, are highly convergent. Broffenbrenner observes, however, that Parsons goes beyond Mowrer in an important respect. For Parsons develops the thesis that the child, in identifying with the parent of the same sex, exhibits behavior ". . . which is sex-typed but by no means identical with behavior of the adult parent. The discrepancy, Parsons asserts, is more marked for the boy, and is related to two factors--the clarity of the role model and the degree of anxiety generated by the very conflict which motivates the child to seek a new identity."[23]

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[21] Broffenbrenner, op. cit., p. 201. Emphases added.

[22] Mowrer, "Identification," op. cit., p. 197.

We know from Cottrell's Proposition 1 in the preceeding chapter that a future role not clearly defined depresses adjustment to that role. Adjustment to a new sex-role identity, by Proposition 4, varies directly with the completeness of the shift in role expectations of the child being socialized. On the discrepancy of identification between boy and girl children, Parsons and Bales write:

> The boy tends to act out what are symbolic representatives of the instrumental aspects of adult masculine roles. These are notably non-familial in context. He plays with trains, cars, airplanes. He more or less explicitly assumes relatively tangible adult masculine roles such as fireman or soldier. He puts great emphasis on physical prowress. But his play is a less exact copy of the specific father role than his sister's is of the mother. This may well be explained, partly at least, by two facts. First the mother role is far more uniform than the masculine occupational role; the girl has a rather specific role-model stereotype. Secondly, being, as we have suggested, under less acute strain, the girl is less drawn to the kinds of symbols which tangibly express compulsively tinged sex-qualities. Thus both the difficulty of understanding many middle-class occupations--their remoteness, and the fact that not involving physical prowress or skill, they do not patently symbolize masculinity--may prevent the urban middle-class boy from so directly emulating his father as the girl does her mother.[24]

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[23] Broffenbrenner, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

[24] Family, op. cit., p. 100.

In the fourth phase of socialization, the adaptive function is met, i.e., the adolescent learns to manipulate rewards. This is the maturity state (for Freud, the genital) in which the child becomes oriented to peers, to his school, and to other systems and subsystems outside of the family.

In summary, we have seen that the child learns gradually to differentiate among the various role socializers in his environments. As the child grows, he becomes aware of more and more aspects of the reference groups, or significant others, that socialize him. This process is consistent with the General Systems Theory formulation in Chapter II. Kohn and Fiedler have emphasized that the differentiation theory of socialization, in which there is growing awareness of the interpersonal environment is a process which continues into adulthood. To empirically test this theoretical orientation, an interpersonal perception test was constructed to test the hypothesis that "older subjects will perceive more differences in personality traits among their significant others than will younger subjects."[25] This hypothesis was upheld, as significant differences were found between college seniors and high school freshmen, and between college freshmen and high school freshmen. The older subjects made more differentiations in the personality attributes of significant others than did younger subjects.

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[25] A. Robert Kohn and Fred E. Fiedler, "Age and Sex Differences in the Perception of Persons," Sociometry, 24 (1961), pp. 157-163. This hypothesis appears on p. 157, and is emphasized.

We have also seen, in the preceding pages, that girls are surrounded with a more adequate set of socializers, Kohn and Fiedler, on this, found that females describe both themselves and their significant others more favorably than did males. Further, females were found to assume more similarity between themselves and their significant others than did males. Since the socialization process involves the learning of personality traits of others, usually older others, this finding is tantamount to saying that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys.

Family and Society

As the maturing child begins to orient his activities more and more outside of the family, he develops skills in playing roles commensurate with his age, sex, and race. One particular concern in this study will be with "late adolescents" of high school age. This is a crucial phase, which immediately precedes the attainment of adult roles. Sullivan formally defines this period as follows: "Late adolescence extends from the patterning of preferred genital activity through unnumbered educative steps to the establishments of a fully human or mature repertory of interpersonal relations as permitted by available opportunity, personal and cultural."[26]

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[26] Harry S. Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1953), p. 297.

Until he graduates from high school, the late adolescent confronts two subsystems of society focused around the ascriptive role criteria of sex and age. The peer group is organized around sex categorization. Pre-adolescent peer groups, as we shall see in Chapter VI, are unisexual. Within these groups, various kinds of skills are practiced and sanctions are apportioned to the various levels of achievement. Prominant among these skills are physical prowress for boys: Social rewards go to those who are instrumental. Many writers have referred to the "compulsive masculinity" of boys at this age, and the generalized contempt that is felt for girls, especially with respect to their expressiveness. Girls are less hostile to boys than boys are to girls. This datum fits in with the comments on identification on the preceding pages. The reasons for this will be elaborated in this chapter: The explanation will be closely related to Cottrell's propositions. The more adequately parents present role socializers and role models to their children, the more successful the child will be in attaining roles.

Throughout American society, girls have a more adequate sex-role model than their brothers. The girls can directly participate in meaningful role activities with her mother, and can frequently witness her mother in same-sex peer interaction. (The importance of this will be elaborated in Chapter IV.) The boy, however, is less able to participate in his father's instrumental role, which is predominantly related to his occupation. Also, the father's same-sex peer interaction focuses outside of the home, so the boy cannot witness this interaction. Direct participation in the parent's role is primarily intentional instruction. From Proposition 3, we have seen that socialization is optimized when this method of socialization is given importance and is definite. The girl receives better instruction, and is consequently socialized more adequately. Witnessing the parent in same-sex role behavior is primarily incidental learning. It provides identification with the parent, imagined or incipient rehearsal of the role, and a model to emulate in play and in related activity. From Proposition 2, we see that socialization is optimized when this method of socialization is present. The above observations indicate that role models are more often present for the girl, who is consequently socialized more adequately in this respect too. These points will be reviewed in greater detail in the next section.

It was mentioned that the peer group is categorized around sex roles. The other subsystem of the society, the school, is organized around age categorization. In this institution, age discriminations are learned. Great refinement of age grading is emphasized by the grade system. Also, the teacher is a powerful adult figure, which emphasizes inter-generational differences.

Enough theory has been presented to this point to begin an examination of the socialization of Negro and white youth. Since the socialization process--through the comprehension, and then mastering, of age and sex roles within the family--is the basis of interaction in the peer group and in the school, the extent to which adjustment to roles in these extra-family systems is attained depends on the clarity with which sex and age roles are in fact differentiated in the family. The allocation of roles in the family will be shown to vary according to the group, class, and race of the family.[27] It will be a fundamental thesis of this text that the Negro family differs systematically from the Caucasian family in its mode of family organization, particularly with respect to sex role differentiation.

Race and the Structure of Sex Roles in the American Family

The importance of family roles for this book is the systematic differences among roles that exist between families of the Negro and white races. It will be shown that the American Negro family differs from the Caucasian family in the internal structure of these roles, especially for the sex roles of parents.

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[27] On this, see John P. Spiegel, "The Resolution of Role Conflict Within the Family," in Milton Greenblatt, Daniel J. Levinson, and Richard H. Williams, The Patient and the Mental Hospital (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 547.

Before making racial comparisons, we will return to a consideration of Parsons and Bales' theory, in terms of sex role allocation in the family.

According to the theory, the basic articulation between family and society in the United States is that the same adults are both members of nuclear families and incumbents of occupational roles. The husband-father is the boundary linkage between the family and the economy.[28] His job provides energy, in the form of money and status, that sustains the family. Parsons writes that ". . . it is fundamentally by virtue of the importance of his occupational role as a component of his familial role that in our society we can unequivocally designate the husband-father as the 'instrumental leader' of the family as a system."[29]

Parsons goes on to hypothesize that the female is the "expressive leader" in the family, as we have seen. Parsons claims that this dichotomy is culturally universal. In fact, however, this role differentiation is more characteristic of some groups than others. A cross-cultural test by Zelditch, in the same book, concluded that 46 out of 56 societies had a female expressive parent and a male expressive parent.[30]

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[28] See Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," in Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 233-250.

[29] Talcott Parsons, "The American Family: Its Relation to Personality and to the Social Structure," in Parsons and Bales, Family, op. cit., p. 132.

A number of empirical studies of American society have also cast doubt on this dichotomy. Liek, for instance, has shown that this role differentiation is more characteristic of interaction between strangers than between the mother and father in the family, as the mother was found to have a dual role--sharing the task sphere with her husband, and the emotional sphere with her daughters. Within the family, the two roles are seen to converge. This is accounted for by freedom from surveillance from others in the primary group. He writes:

> While the family members may well be aware of or profess agreement with standard sex role differentiation, they may just as readily behave quite differently behind the closed doors of the home. Thus a man may express traditional mass culture values to his fellow workers, concomitantly insisting that his wife is, and should be, properly feminine. Nevertheless he may be quite willing to show considerable emotion privately to his wife and expect her at times to be businesslike.[31]

Research by Broffenbrenner also contradicts Parsons' claim. He found that the mother exceeded the father in virtually all spheres of child socialization:

> . . . presence, warmth, permissiveness, pressure, and expressive rejection. Seventeen of the twenty scales show significant* differences in favor of the mother, ranging from an average of seven to eleven points (on

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[30] Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," op. cit., pp. 307-351. Even if there were no deviant cases, functional necessity would still have to be demonstrated.

[31] Liek, op. cit., p. 133.

> a twenty point scale) for variables such as Nurturance, and Presence, to a one-point difference in Achievement Pressure, Deprivation of Privileges, and Principled Discipline. *The father exceeds the mother significantly on only two variables: Physical Punishment and Instrumental Companionship (companionship involving purposeful activity or achievement)*. The remaining variable, Neglect, shows substantially no difference between the parents. The rank ordering of means of the twenty variables is almost identical for the two parents. *It would appear that, except for a slight tendency for the father to specialize in what Parsons calls the "instrumental functions," the mother is perceived by the adolescent boy as the more salient figure in most aspects of parental treatment--negative as well as positive*.[32]

Hence, the mother is the principal socializer, though the expressive and instrumental roles are not highly differentiated, as Liek also found.

The allocation of parental roles on the instrumental-expressive dimension, as Zelditch has demonstrated, varies among societies. *Within* a society, however, there is also variation. In the United States, there are differences based on *social class* and *race*. We shall examine these differences in some detail here, using secondary data. In Chapter X, we will use the high school data to further explore class and race differences in parental roles.

Parsons, as we have seen, contends that the father's instrumental role in the family results from this occupational role in society. It would certainly be reasonable to expect that the higher the father's occupational status, the more adequate will he be as an instrumental role socializer. Broffenbrenner's progress report also deals with this.

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[32] Urie Broffenbrenner, "Family Structure and Personality Development: Report of Progress" (Cornell University: Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, 1958), p. 18. Dittoed. Emphasis added.

> It would appear that, apart from differences associated with the father's educational level, his orientation toward his work pervade both his own and his wife's behavior toward their children. The more the father's job calls for evaluating the quality of a piece of work requiring specialized knowledge and skill, the more likely are both the parents to press the child for achievement, and the more reserved and conditional in their expression of affection.[33]

Hence, the value of the father as a socializer depends both on the status and the quality orientation of his occupational role. We can expect the father to socialize the child in a manner consistent with the activities important to the father in his instrumental role. One salient aspect of that activity is the extent to which the father actually evaluates the quality of a concrete product: This makes him a better role socializer for his sons, a more definite model, and more likely to pressure the child to achieve and place conditions on expressiveness. The difficulties of a father with low quality orientation is illustrated by Elkin:

> Since the boy in our society does not generally see his father at work, one significant dimension of the male model is often obscure. The story is told of the four-year-old boy playing "Daddy" who put on his hat

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[33] Ibid., p. 22. High quality orientation involves the evaluation of a product as against the maintainance of operations. For example, contrast the skilled craftsman with the business man. Both may have equal education and income, but the former is likely to be more concerned with the quality of workmanship on each job that he does, while the latter emphasizes efficiency, maintaining "contacts," and gross volume of sales. Similarly, contrast the scientist and the administrator, the draftsman and the clerk.

> and coat, said "Goodbye," and walked out of the front door, only to return a few minutes later because he didn't know what to do next.[34]

The father's status level and quality orientation of his work, from Cottrell's Propositions, and from the above discussion, leads the child to adequate adjustment to his future roles. The rewarding of boys for certain kinds of actions, as we have seen, is intentional instruction for learning a generalized sex role. This role learning, as we have also seen, varies directly with the clarity and visibility with which the father provides an interactive role socializer. On this, Broffenbrenner writes:

> With amount of schooling held constant, parental behavior changes also as a function of the father's occupational orientation. Among families for whom the father's job is classified as quality oriented, the parents--especially the father--are likely to spend more time in the home.[35]

This leads, as cited, to achievement demands and more conditional expressiveness of father to son. For lower occupational levels, however, the fathers are more authoritarian and the parental rules are more highly differentiated.[36] But high differentiation of roles, per se, does not facilitate socialization. It is not enough that the roles be differentiated--they must be differentiated with the father the instrumental leader, and the mother the expressive leader. Broffenbrenner also found that lower class fathers tend to have little instrumental value and interact expressively with their children. This phenomenon, defined as role reversal, is postulated to inhibit socialization.

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[34] Frederick Elkin, The Child and Society: The Processes of Socialization (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 54.

[35] Broffenbrenner, op. cit., p. 22.

[36] Ibid.

Another stratification variable, parental education, is also related to role socialization. On this, Broffenbrenner reports that high educational level makes little difference on allocation of the expressive role, but that as educational level increases, the father increases in instrumental socialization value. The father ". . . begins to approach the mother in the exercise of both positive and negative reinforcement toward the child. Achievement demands, principled discipline, and instrumental companionship are more likely to come from both parents rather than principally from the mother, as in the less well-educated family."[37]

The above discussion shows that there is variability in the allocation of the instrumental and expressive roles between the mother and the father in American society. It is not only the case that the roles are not highly differentiated, they may even tend toward reversal. Reversal does not facilitate socialization. For the boy child must learn to perform instrumental roles in non-family interaction.

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[37] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

and the girl child must learn to perform expressive roles in non-family interaction. Liek writes that ". . . the male is more apt to have responsibilities calling for instrumentality, while the female is more apt to need expressive behaviors."[38]

Liek has also shown that it is characteristic of the mother and the father to manifest both instrumentality and expressiveness to their children. There is considerable evidenct that this contributes to the child's role adjustment. Since this is extremely important to this book, this evidence will be presented in some detail.

Elder, in a cross-national study of parent-child and conjugal role patterns, found the structure of these roles, especially of parent-child roles, to be important determinants of achievement motivation and skills.[39] He writes:

> Many of the personal qualities and skills that enable children to meet standards of excellence--self-reliance, competent judgment, problem-solving ability, and a questioning mind--are acquired in parent-child relations providing guidance and yet

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[38] Liek, op. cit., p. 132.

[39] Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Family Structure and Educational Attainment: A Cross-National Analysis," American Sociological Review, 30 (1965), pp. 81-96. Also see, David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1958), pp. 135-194; Glen H. Elder, Jr. Adolescent Achievement and Mobility Aspirations (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Institute for Research in Social Science, 1962).

> allowing the child freedom to develop independent mastery and responsible decision-making.[40]

The data support the view that conjugal role patterns also influence the acquisition of self-confidence and mastery in children, and that the most negative effects are associated with wife-dominance, i.e., with conjugal role reversal.[41] Earlier, Elder had reported that American adolescents who had dominant mothers were relatively low on academic motivation and an autonomy.[42] This result is also consistent with Devereux *et al*., who had found that American and West German pre-adolescent boys in role reversed families were rated by teachers and their peers as selfish, incompetent, exciteable, and dependent.[43]

Elder found that the highest attaining children in his study were those who had equalitarian conjugal relations between their parents (neither role reversal nor a dominant father), and democratic relations in interacting with their parents.[44]

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[40] *Ibid*.

[41] Elder, "Family Structure," *ibid*., p. 81. Elder cites W. D. Wall, F. J. Schonell, and Willard C. Olson, *Failure in School* (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1962), and Bernard C. Rosen and Roy C. D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," *Sociometry*, 22 (1959), pp. 185-218.

[42] Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Family Structure and the Transmission of Values and Norms in the Process of Child Rearing" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1962), pp. 17-25.

[43] See Edward C. Devereux, Jr., "Children of Democracy: On the Consequences for Children of Varying Patterns of Family Authority in the United States and West Germany," summary of a paper presented to the Seventh International Seminars

Articles by Sears[45] and by Payne and Mussen[46] have shown that identification with the father, playing the father role, and "masculinity" of attitudes are positively related to the father's being warm, affectionate, and rewarding; i.e., the father that has expressive value is also the best instrumental role socializer. Bowerman and Elder[47] have shown that "Fathers who neither share nor individually assume leadership responsibilities in family affairs and childrearing were relatively unlikely to be perceived as a major source of support and encouragement." Mussen's findings support Mowrer's "developmental hypothesis of identification" and indicate that strong identification

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on Family Research, Washington, D. C., 1962; Edward C. Devereux, Jr., Urie Broffenbrenner, and George J. Suci, "Patterns of Parent Behavior in America and West Germany: A Cross-National Comparison," International Social Science Journal, 14 (1962), pp. 488-506. Cited in Elder, "Family Structure," op. cit., p. 81 ff.

[44] Elder, op. cit., p. 84.

[45] P. S. Sears, "Childrearing Factors Relating to Playing of Sex-Typed Roles," American Psychologist, 8 (1953), p. 431.

[46] D. E. Payne and P. H. Mussen, "Parent Child Relations and Father Identification Among Adolescent Boys," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LII (1956), pp. 359-362.

[47] Charles E. Bowerman and Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Variations in Adolescent Perception of Family Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), p. 567.

with the male role is shown in the development of a pattern of sex-role behavior rather than in the development of a few isolated sex-appropriate characteristics.[48] Strong masculine identification was shown to be related to indices of personal adequacy and emotional stability. In addition to an inability to develop adequacy and stability in the personality, Epstein and Liverant have shown that boys who are low on masculine identification are less easily conditioned: In general terms, they are less educable.[49] McGuire supports this generalization, as his study showed that sex-role development affects the performance of junior high school students on cognative and non-cognative instruments selected as potential indicators of talented behavior.[50]

Hartley presents impressive bibliographic and primary evidence that the male role demands on the adolescent boy create serious adjustment problems.[51] For instance, the higher rates of referral of boys over girls to child centers has ". . . long pointed to the markedly greater incidence of failure in social functioning in boys as compared with girls."[52] Males are more apt to engage in delinquent behavior.[53] Of the gifted, male youth are more apt to be underachievers than girls.[54] Through a sifting of this evidence, and through interviews with 41 eight and

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[48] Paul Mussen, "Some Antecedents and Consequences of Masculine Sex-Typing in Adolescent Boys," Psychological Monographs, 75 (1961).

[49] Ralph Epstein and Shepard Liverant, "Verbal Conditioning and Sex-Role Identification in Children," Child Development, 34 (1963), pp. 99-106.

[50] Carson McGuire, "Sex Role and Community Variability in Test Performances," Journal of Educational Psychology, 52 (1961), pp. 61-73.

[51] Ruth E. Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child," Psychological Reports, 5 (1959), 457-468. Among the studies cited: D. G. Brown, "Inversion and Homosexuality," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 28 (1958), pp. 424-429; Esther Laden Cava and Harold L. Raush, "Identification and the Adolescent Boy's Perception of His

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Father," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 47 (1952), pp. 855-856; S. W. Gray, "Masculinity-Feminity in Relation to Anxiety and Social Acceptance," Child Development, 54 (1956), pp. 87-109; S. W. Gray and R. Klaus, "The Assessment of Parental Identification," Genetic Psychological Monographs, 54 (1956), pp. 87-109; R. D. Tuddenham, "Studies in Reputation: III. Correlates of Popularity Among Elementary School Children," Journal of Educational Psychology, 42 (1951), pp. 251-276; R. D. Tuddenham, "Studies in Reputation: I. Sex and Grade Differences in School Children's Evaluation of Their Peers. II. The Diagnosis of Social Adjustment," Psychological Monographs, 66 (1952), No. 333.

[52] Ibid. Also see: Department of Mental Hygiene, State of New York: 1956 Annual Report (Albany, New York: Department of Mental Hygiene, 1957); Department of Mental Hygiene, State of California, Statistical Report, Year Ending June 30, 1955 (Sacramento, California: Department of Mental Hygiene, 1957); G. M. Gilbert, "A Survey of 'Referral Problems' in Metropolitan Child Guidance Centers," Journal of Clinical Psychology, 13 (1957), pp. 37-40; C. A. Ullman, Identification of Maladjusted School Children, Public Health Monograph No. 7 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957).

[53] E. F. Schwartz, "Statistics of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 261 (1949), pp. 13-14.

[54] J. C. Gowan, "The Underachieving Gifted Child, A Problem for Everyone," Exceptional Child, 21 (1955), pp. 247-249 and pp. 270-271.

eleven year old males, Hartley concluded that there are four major adjustment problems in the male sex role: "Sources of conflict expressed by these young children are lack of adequate models, extensive supervision by women, conflicting nature of multiple role demands, lack of clear, positive definition of the male sex role in socialization practices, and rigidity of role demands."[55]

Brim, too, emphasizes that adjustment problems in the male adolescent are predictible from role theory. Since interaction between two persons leads to assimilation of roles, and ". . . insofar as warm, affectionate, and rewarding fathers interact more with their sons, or are perceived as such because they interact more, it follows that the sons have more experience in taking their role."[56] This is similar to Homans' friendliness-interaction hypothesis. This hypothesis, as formally restated by Simon, states that the level of friendliness between people in a group increases if the actual level of interaction is higher than that "appropriate" to the existing level of friendliness, while if very friendly people interact seldom, their level of friendliness will weaken. Formally, where I(t) is the level of interaction as a function of

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[55] Hartley, op. cit., p. 466.

[56] Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Family Structure and Sex-Role Learning by Children," Sociometry, 21 (1958), pp. 1-16.

_time, and F(t) is the level of _friendliness with respect to time, we have:[57]

$$dF(t)/dt = b[I(t) - cF(t)].$$

This formalization suggests that there may be--as Broffenbrenner has postulated--an optimal distribution of expressive support and instrumental means for a parent to have, in terms of producing social adjustment and growth for the child. Evidence also exists to support this conceptualization. Broffenbrenner's analysis of data on the distribution of parental roles led him, post hoc, to the conclusion that there is an "optimal level" of support and means (expressive and instrumental) that parents should provide, somewhere between the extremes of only affection from the parent or only authority.[58]

The optimal distribution was found to be different for boys and girls. Extremes of either affection or discipline were reported to be deliterious for all children, but the risks entailed varied by sex. Girls are prone to falling too far toward the instrumental end, and boys to falling too far toward the expressive end. The maximum point is farther toward the instrumental end for boys, which is also indicated by previously cited research.

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[57] This hypothesis was developed after an inductive examination of several empirical studies, in George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harpers, 1950), pp. 119-121. For Simon's formalization of this, and related propositions, see Herbert Simon, "A Formal Theory of Interaction in Social Groups," in Herbert Simon, Models of Man: Social and Rational (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), pp. 99-114, esp. p. 101.

[58] Urie Broffenbrenner, "Toward a Theoretical Model for the Analysis of Parent-Child Relationships in a Social Context," in J. Glidewell, ed., Parent Attitudes and Child Behavior (Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas, 1961), pp. 90-110. Also see: Urie Broffenbrenner, "The Changing American Child: A Speculative Analysis," Journal of Social Issues, 17 (1961), pp. 6-17. Elder, "Family Structure," op. cit., pp. 81-96.

Hence we see that the allocation of these two roles differs between societies, and within societies. Various aspects of stratification--class, father's occupation, quality orientation of father's occupation, and father's education--have been shown by this secondary data to be important variables in the socialization of children by parents. Possession of these attributes by parents facilitates socialization and personality adjustment.

All of these attributes are, of course, entirely absent in the broken home in which the father is absent. Sears, Pintler, and Sears have shown that in families where the father is absent the male child will develop male sex-role traits more slowly than when the father is present, as there is no father whose role the child needs to take.[59] Data comparing the behavior of adolescent boys in broken versus unbroken homes does not always yield significant results; however, as the cause of pathological behavior--such as delinquency--is family disorganization, and, as Browning points out, "Broken home, as it is generally defined, does not appear to be a valid indicator of family disorganization."[60]

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[59] R. R. Sears, Margaret H. Pintler, and Pauline S. Sears, "Effects of Father Separation on Pre-School Children's Doll Playing Aggression," Child Development, 17 (1946), pp. 219-243.

In later chapters, we will examine data relating to parental socializing attributes and behavior of the child. In Chapter V, parents will be studied in terms of peer interaction. In Chapter IX and X, parents will be studied in terms of purposive role socialization to educational and occupational goals.

The text has now reached the point where the race variable can be integrated into the analysis. The whole theoretical elaboration of this book is directed at an analysis of differential socialization of Negro and white youth. Hence, we are now prepared to turn directly to the topic of this section's title, the analysis of "race and the structure of sex roles in the American family."

Evidence will be presented to support the following statements. First of all, the sex roles of Negro and Caucasian parents in the United States are not identical. The American Negro female parent is more instrumental than the American white parent. Also, the American Negro male parent is less instrumental than the American white male parent. This allocation, for many roles in American society, is not optimal for socialization. Further, the allocation of roles of parents varies in the direction that entails the greatest risks for improper socialization, and poor personality adjustment and integration.

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[60] Charles J. Browning, "Differential Impact of Family Disorganization on Male Adolescents," Social Problems, 8 (1960), p. 43. Also see F. Ivan Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958); Jackson Toby, "The Differential Impact of Family Disorganization," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 505-512.

This situation, in which the Negro female parent is more instrumental than the white female parent, and the Negro male parent is more expressive than the white male parent, is role reversal. In the Negro family, the parental sex roles are reversed in that Negro parents have more cross-sex traits than white parents. This phenomenon is characteristic of both low social class and of minority racial status. It has been shown to retard the socialization process.

A brief examination of Negro history provides clues into how this parental role reversal came about. There is a vast literature dealing with Negro history, much of which is sociological. No purpose would be served by attempting a review of this literature here. Instead, a limited amount of information related to the sex roles of adult Negroes will be presented.

The Negro female was, under slavery, and is today, the most permanent and dependable member of Negro society, especially with respect to the socialization of the young. On this Burgess and Locke write:

> Under slavery the mother remained the important figure in the family. The affectional relations of mother and child developed deep and permanent attachment. Frequently, also, the father was a member of the family group, but often the relationship was casual and easily broken.

> Then, too, Negro husbands were sold more often. These and other factors contributed to the development of a matricentric form of the family during slavery.[61]

In the dominant white society, however, the father is the "instrumental leader." He achieves this role--according to Parsons--primarily through his occupation. It is this that makes him an adequate role socializer for the male child, in terms of gaining a sexual identity. In the sub-dominant Negro society, the father shares the instrumental role with the mother, and is hence a less adequate role socializer. The urban female Negro parent, because of her better chances of employment vis-a-vis her husband, retains a high status in the family. Lott and Lott found that this situation is reflected in the occupational plans and aspirations of female Negro high school students. They report:

> The striking lack of interest shown by the Negro girls in homemaking as a primary goal . . . can be viewed as an accurate reflection of reality. Since the majority of Negro mothers were reported to be employed outside the home, it is not difficult to

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[61] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, The Family: From Institution to Companionship (New York: American Book Company, 1945), p. 161. Also see Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study of the Deep South (New York: The Viking Press, 1953), p. 147. Kardiner and Ovesey point out that under slavery the female ". . . had a higher use value to the group, because of her sexual value to the white male. She was the only member of the group who was capable of entering into some reciprocity with her white master, as mistress, as mother of lighter-skinned Negroes, and as mammy to white children. . . ." Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression: Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962), p. 348.

> understand how a young Negro girl might come to see herself as a source of income, first, and to take for granted the secondary role of housewife.[62]

In another context, they add that ". . . Negro girls thus seem to be relatively more masculine or 'hard-headed' in their interests and orientations (than white girls), and relatively more concerned with attainment outside the home."[63] The Negro male is at an extreme disadvantage in economic competition. He is, as is often observed, the last to be hired and the first to be fired. If employed, Negroes are more apt to have low status occupations.

Blood and Hamblin have argued that the occupational role of the husband is not very predictive of family power (control of the instrumental role), relative to other factors.[64] Certainly there are other causes of sex role allocation in the Negro family. But apart from the causes of power, it is apparent that the Negro female parent *is* powerful in the family relative to the white female (for which the trend is towards equalitarianism).[65]

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[62] Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, *Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), p. 73.

[63] *Ibid*., p. 77.

[64] Robert O. Blood, Jr., and Robert L. Hamblin, "The Effects of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure," *Social Forces*, 26 (1958), p. 351. This finding suggest Parsons may have overemphasized the importance of the father's occupation on socialization. Russell Middleton and Snell Putney, in "Dominance in Decisions in the Family--Race and Class Differences," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (1960), pp. 605-609, found that the wife increased in dominance with respect to *minor* decisions if she did *not* work.

The Negro female parent, because of her instrumental power, is able to make demands on her husband to share in the expressive role, to perform expressive tasks. This completes the process of role reversal.

Thus, the Negro father acts in accord with a role that is defined differently than that of the white father. In terms of the dominant white role allocation, the socialization of the Negro father is "arrested" short of full adult status. On this Davis writes:

> . . . interesting to notice that in relationships between the color castes in the South, or between lower-class and upper-class individuals of the same color group, the individual of subordinate status is treated as if he had child status. White servants, for example, as well as almost all Negroes, are called by their first names by the high-status whites; a Negro man, furthermore, is called "boy" and a Negro woman "girl" by most whites.[66]

The impact of this lack of parental role maturity in the Negro father spreads to child socialization, via the attitudes of the sexes to each other. On this, Kardiner and Ovesey write:

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[65] Blood and Wolfe contend that equality between spouses is increasing and that women are more frequently stepping into the primary role in the family. See Robert Blood and Donald Wolfe, Husbands and Wives (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960). This study, like many others, uses a conceptual framework developed by Herbst. See P. G. Herbst, "Conceptual Framework for Studying the Family," in O. A. Olsen and S. B. Hammond, eds., Social Structure and Personality in a City (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), pp. 126-137.

[66] Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, 6 (1941), p. 351.

> The lower class Negro female cannot be "feminine" nor the male "masculine." Their roles are reversed. Since these values are just the opposite from what they are in the white society, and since the values of white society are inescapable, the male fears and hates the female; the female mistrusts and has contempt for the male because he cannot validate his nominal masculinity in practice.[67]

On this, Lott and Lott found that, in a study of four border state community high schools:

> Negro females (tend) to manifest a more typically male orientation toward certain goals. For example, Negro females tended to score higher than the white females on the theoretical and political values scales, and lower on the religious scales. The Negro girls also scored lower on the love and affection scale of the GPI. In addition, not one of the Negro girls indicated a desire to be a housewife in contrast to 24 per cent of the white girls, and the occupational desires of the former were for higher status jobs than those of the latter. (This was not true of the Negro boys in comparison with the white boys).[68]

In this study, information was obtained on six dimensions of personality, three of which can be subsumed under the instrumental rubric, and three, the expressive. These data were not explicitly interpreted in terms of sex roles, but can be readily used for that purpose. The scores will be reproduced here, for school leaders in each of the four race sex groups. The test used[69] was developed by Levy[70]

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[67] Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 349.

[68] Lott and Lott, op. cit., p. 161-162.

[69] Ibid., Appendix 2.

[70] Jerome Levy, "Readability Level and Differential Test Performance: A Language Revision of the Study of Values," Journal of Educational Psychology, 49 (1958), pp. 6-12.

Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey Study of Values.[71] As mentioned, three of the values from this test can be categorized as instrumental, and three as expressive:

> INSTRUMENTAL VALUES
>
> Theoretical--dominant interest in the discovery of truth, in ordering and systematizing *knowledge*, through observation and reasoning.
>
> Economic--interest in what is useful, in the practical affairs of business, and in the accumulation of wealth.
>
> Political--primary interest in *power*, competition, influence and renoun (in any vocation, not necessarily politics).
>
> EXPRESSIVE VALUES
>
> Esthetic--interest in *form* and *harmony*, in grace and symmetry, and in the artistic episodes of life, which are regarded as a procession of events in which each impression is enjoyed for its own sake.
>
> Social--characterized by *love of people*, altruism or philanthropy, kindness, sympathy, and unselfishness.
>
> Religious--interest in the mystical and in comprehending the unity of the *cosmos* and man's relations to it.[72]

In the following table, we predict that, in the Negro group, boys are more expressive and less instrumental relative to girls than in the white group. The relative expressiveness of boys and girls can be derived by a simple ratio of the mean scores on each of the six values for boys and girls. The scores, ratios of scores, and hypotheses tested are presented in Table 3.1.

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[71] Gordon W. Allport, Philip E. Vernon, and Gardner Lindzey, *Manual of Directions: Study of Values* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951).

[72] Lott and Lott, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. Emphasis in text.

TABLE 3.1--Mean Average Scores for Six Values on Levy's Modified Study of Values Obtained by Lott and Lott, by Race and Sex, for School Leaders.[a]

Race Sex (N)	Value Scores					
	Instrumental Values			Expressive Values		
Ratio: Boy/Girl	Theo.	Economic	Poli.	Relig.	Social	Esthetic
Negro Boys (17)	44.17	34.91	29.64	45.56	42.62	33.09
Negro Girls (13)	43.15	34.15	31.38	48.69	44.35	38.27
Ratio: Boys/Girls	1.02	1.02	1.26	.94	.96	.86
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
t-scores	.50	.44	4.19	1.57	.79	2.67
p	ns	ns	<.001	ns	ns	<.02
White Boys (14)	43.67	41.54	40.86	44.79	36.64	32.50
White Boys (16)	37.12	32.25	34.69	52.56	43.88	39.50
Ratio: Boys/Girls	1.12	1.29	1.18	.85	.84	.82
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
t-scores	2.82	4.18	2.61	3.41	3.77	3.59
p	<.01	<.001	<.02	<.01	<.001	<.01

Hypotheses: (1) <(7); (2) <(8); (3) <(9); (4) >(10); (5) >(11); (6) >(12).

Results: Positive; Positive; Negative; Positive ; Positive ; Positive.

---

[a] Source: Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community (New York: Holt Rinehard and Winston, Inc., 1963), Table 4.6, p. 95.

Within each race group, girls have lower instrumental value scores and higher expressive value scores than boys. This result is true of all twelve cases. Comparisons of scores between races, however, supports the idea that there is an instrumental-expressive role reversal in the Negro group, when compared to the white group. For instrumental values, the ratios of boys' scores to girls' scores can be expected to be highest in the white group; this predicted pattern is found for theoretical and economic values, but not for political values. For expressive values, the ratios of boys' scores to girls' scores can be expected to be highest in the Negro group. Here, the predicted pattern is followed for all three values--religious, social, and esthetic. In summary, five of the six predictions are supported by Lott and Lott's data for school leaders.

There is no theoretical reason, however, to suppose that the sex differences within each race would not hold for the entire sample. On the contrary, the data in Table 3.1 is conservative in that Negro leaders may be less apt to have their parents' roles reversed, and the sub-sample of leaders is small. Fortunately, Lott and Lott present statistical data for the entire sample. We can expect the means for boys and girls to be more alike within the Negro group than in the white group: the t-scores should be smaller for the Negro group for all six values. The data are reproduced in Table 3.2, as it is important to the theory presented in this chapter.

TABLE 3.2--Direct Comparisons Between the Sexes Within Negro and White Students, for Lott and Lott's Total Sample.[a]

Value Scale	Negro			White		
	t	df	p	t	df	p
Theoretical	.90	108	ns	4.78	176	<.001
Economic	2.73	108	<.01	5.22	176	<.001
Political	3.59	108	<.001	6.59	176	<.001
Religious	.98	108	ns	3.94	176	<.001
Social	3.73	108	<.001	5.78	176	<.001
Esthetic	1.41	108	ns	7.00	176	<.001

[a] Source: Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, *Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community* (New York: Holt Rinehard and Winston, Inc., 1963), p. 196.

The above table shows that the predicted pattern is observed for all six values. For the leaders, the boy/girl ratio had been slightly higher in the Negro group:

$t = 4.19$, $p < .001$ for Negroes and

$t = 2.61$, $p < .02$ for whites.

Earlier in this section the point was made that the sex role reversal vis-a-vis the dominant Caucasian pattern in the Negro race is not optimal for socialization. Further, it was shown that the allocation of roles of parents varies in the direction that entails the greatest risks for improper socialiazation, and for poor personality adjustment and integration. Given this situation, it can be anticipated that there will exist a felt need on the part of Negro youth to attain roles commensurate with their sex: Negro boys should desire to be more instrumental than they are; Negro girls more expressive.

These needs should not be felt, however, in the dominant white group, as the sex roles are there more properly allocated.

Again, data gathered by Lott and Lott can be used to test this conceptualization. The same group of Negro and white school leaders in Table 3.1 were compared on three subscales of Liverant's Goal Preference Inventory (GPI).[73] This instrument measures three needs conceptualized in Rotter's social learning theory.[74] The three needs are academic recognition, social recognition, and love and affection in social situations.[75] The needs are defined as follows:

> Academic recognition--Need to be considered competent or good in academic situations . . . to have . . . social behaviors approved and admired by others . . . to gain academic status;
>
> Social recognition--Need to be considered competent or good in social activities . . . to have . . . social behaviors approved and admired by others . . . to gain social status;
>
> Love and affection--Need for acceptance and indication of liking by other individuals in a social atmosphere . . . to feel the sheer joy of being with others regardless of any advantage to yourself . . . to feel part of a social group, that is, to be valued as a friend in social activities.[76]

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[73] S. Liverant, "The Use of Rotter's Social Learning Theory in Developing a Personality Inventory," Psychological Monographs, 72 (1958), No. 2.

[74] Julian B. Rotter, Social Learning and Clinical Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1954).

[75] On this see Lott and Lott, op. cit., pp. 12-13 ff.

[76] Ibid., p. 13. The test used is presented in Appendix 1.

Academic Recognition is clearly an instrumental need. Social Recognition is somewhat expressive, but is an admixture of instrumental and expressive needs. Love and Affection is clearly an expressive need.

Data testing our hypotheses that Negro boys will show instrumental needs (needs for Academic Recognition), and that Negro girls will show expressive needs (needs for Love and Affection), are presented in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3--Mean Average Scores Made on the Goal Preference Inventory for Academic Recognition, Social Recognition, and for Love and Affection, in Lott and Lott, by Race and Sex, for School Leaders.[a]

Race/Sex	(N)	Goal Preference Inventory Scores		
		Academic Recognition	Social Recognition	Love and Affection
Negro Boys	(17)	23.06	16.59	20.35
Negro Girls	(13)	19.00	16.00	25.00
Ratio:Boys/Girls		1.21	1.03	.81
		(1)	(2)	(3)
t-scores		2.82	.37	3.39
p		<.01	ns	<.01
White Boys	(14)	19.00	18.43	22.57
White Girls	(16)	18.19	19.94	21.88
Ratio:Boys/Girls		1.04	.92	1.03
		(4)	(5)	(6)
t-scores		.34	.59	.35
p		ns	ns	ns

Hypotheses: (1) >(4); (3) <(6);

Results: Positive; Positive.

---

[a] Source: Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), Table 4.7, p. 98.

Comparisons of sex within each race group indicated no significant differences in the white group. In the Negro group, however, the Negro boys and girls differed significantly on two goals. As predicted, the Negro boys scored highest on Academic Recognition, and the Negro girls scored highest on Love and Affection. These data provide further evidence for the theory developed in this chapter.

In regard to this data on perceived needs, the school leaders differ somewhat from the total samples, though the ratios stay in the directions predicted. Within the Negro group, all three t-scores are non-significant. Within the white group, boys feel a significantly greater need for Social Recognition. Also within the white group, girls feel a greater need for Love and Affection.

Still further evidence for the need to overcome role reversal in Negro boys and girls can be generated from data presented by Lott and Lott. French's Test of Insight[77] was administered to the school leaders represented in Tables 3.1 and 3.3. This test provided measures of achievement and affiliative motives. Achievement Motivation is defined as a "need for the attainment of a standard of excellence," and Affiliative Motivation as a "need for warm and supporting interpersonal relationships."[78] Achievement Motivation is defined as a need for attaining an instrumental role; Affiliative Motivation, an expressive role. Hence, the same predictions made, and supported, for the data in Table 3.3 should obtain for these data. That is, the need for instrumental achievement should be pronounced for Negro boys, and the need for expressive achievement should be pronounced for Negro girls. Significant differences should appear only in the Negro race group. The boy/girl ratios should follow the pattern obtained in the preceeding table.

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[77] Elizabeth French, "Development of a Measure of Complex Motivation," in John W. Atkinson, ed., Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society (Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1958), pp. 242-248.

TABLE 3.4--Adjusted Mean Average Scores for Achievement and Affiliation Motivations on French's Test of Insight, by Lott Lott, by Race and Sex, for School Leaders.[a]

Race Sex	(N)	Achievement	Affiliation
Negro Boys		8.04	6.94
Negro Girls		6.66	8.00
Ratio: Boys/Girls		1.21 (1)	.87 (2)
White Boys		8.54	8.25
White Girls		9.41	9.59
Ratio: Boys/Girls		.91 (3)	.86 (4)
Hypotheses:	(1) >(3);	(2) <(4).	
Results:	Positive;	Not Significant.	

[a] Source: Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, Inc.,1963), Table 4.8,p.100.

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[78] Lott and Lott, op. cit., p. 16.

Analysis of covariance showed no significant differences between sexes in the two race groups. There was a difference in the ratios of boys to girls in the direction indicated for Achievement Motivation. The ratios for Affiliation, which differ by .01 in the negative direction, are virtually identical.

Sexual tensions and aggression between the sexes are another major factor in the instability of the Negro sex roles in the Negro home. The male Negro comes out of an environment that is harsh and demanding:

> . . . the woman is one toward whom he seems foredoomed to take a submissive attitude, contrary to the commonly accepted ideal. This spoils his sexual attitude. He may or may not emerge with some gross sexual disturbance, like impotence. But he surely comes out of it with a disturbed, unconfident, untrusting attitude. If he marries, he knows the woman has much better economic chances than he has. Then, his position in the home is already jeopardized by his preparation for submissiveness to her--in our male oriented society.[79]

This too, is a structure that came out of slavery. Burgess and Locke, in developing this thesis, state that "This importance of the mother's role in the family during slavery in part accounts for the dominant position of the mother and the presence of the matricentric family form in the lower class and middle class families today."[80]

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[79] Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 345.

[80] The Family, op. cit., p. 162. Also see Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 335, and E. Franklin Frazier, Negro Youth at the Crossways (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 204, p. 291.

Referring back to the socialization theory developed in this chapter, particularly with regard to the contributions of Freudian and Parsonian phase theory, it is postulated that role reversal results in inadequate socialization, in incomplete resolution of the Oedipal phase. Marriage solidarity of two parents is important in the development of the Oedipal child.[81] This situation has implications for peer interaction during adolescence, as we shall see in later chapters.

Lott and Lott, though they do not focus on sex roles in Negro and white youth, make the following summary statement:

> . . . the usual sex-typed goal orientations found among white youth do not exist as clearly among Negro youth. The greater similarity between Negro boys and girls may be related to less sharply delineated and differentiated sex roles of father and mother within Negro, than within white, families. The relative instability of the Negro home, the higher probability that a Negro mother is contributing to the income by outside employment and the higher probability that the Negro father is absent from the home, contribute to the lesser likelihood that father and mother roles in the home are as distinct as they are in the average white home. Since the availability of appropriate adult males is generally considered a necessary antecedent for the learning of appropriate sex roles by children, the aforementioned conditions may also help to explain the similarity between Negro boys and girls in goals and values.[82]

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[81] According to Anna Freud, one principle reason is that it prevents the child from playing the role of the spouse with either parent. From a seminar discussion, cited in Parsons and Bales, Family, op. cit., pp. 94-95 ff. Also see: Sears, Pintler, and Sears, op. cit.; Browning, op. cit.; Nye, op. cit.; and Toby, op. cit.

[82] Lott and Lott, op. cit., p. 161.

3

The secondary evidence presented in the preceeding pages (the state description), in conjunction with the theoretical propositions developed in Chapters II and III, make it possible to derive theorems (hypotheses) about the relative rates of socialization of Negro boys, Negro girls, white boys, and white girls. These four states will constitute the basic unit of analysis of this text. In terms of general processes of socialization, the best performance can be expected from white girls, and the worst from Negro boys, as whites are socialized more rapidly than Negroes and girls more rapidly than boys. This is a partial ordering, in which it is not clear whether Negro girls and white boys will rank the highest on various measures of socialization. It is possible to say, however, that in general the white boys will perform better relative to white girls than Negro boys will perform relative to Negro girls.

A rough picture of the status of the mother and father as perceived by students in the four race sex groups can be obtained by looking at responses to the open-ended question: "Of all the people you know well, which three do you admire and respect the most?" Three blanks were provided. Students who answered "Parents" were given one response for "Mother" and one for "Father." This question was asked only in the three Northern schools of the five schools used to provide primary data. (See Chapter I, and Appendices A and B).

Since Negro children are in general provided with a set of referents less adequate than that provided for white children, it is difficult to compare the absolute proportions of students who name their mothers and fathers. For instance, a Negro boy may rate both parents rather low on "admiration" and "respect," but rate alternatives even lower, and hence name one or both parents as one of his three "best" referents. We can, however, interpret the relative responses to mother and to father between race groups for boys and girls. The Negro boys, who are postulated to lack a father as a meaningful role socializer, can be expected to answer father less often than mother, and the ratio of responses of father to mother should be lowest for Negro boys.

The father is also of little relevance for the Negro girl. She is socialized to assume a position of relative dominance in her family of procreation, and holds her father in low regard. Among the girls, Negro girls should have a lower father/mother ratio than white girls. Data are presented in Table 3.5.

The highest percentage in the entire table is the 45% of North White High School Negro girls who choose their mothers. Within the Negro group, the proportion of Negroes in the school is inversely related to the respect held for parents. This pattern is not as regular, but works to some extent for the white girls, but not for white boys. Controlling for father's occupation was found to reduce this relationship, indicating the relation can be interpreted by the higher overall status of parents in schools highest in the proportion of white students.

TABLE 3.5--Percentages of Students Choosing Father and Mother as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race Sex	North Negro		North Mixed		North White		All Schools	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys								
Father	20	(560)	24	(283)	38	(39)	22	(882)
Mother	27		36		36		30	
Ratio: Father/Mother	.74 (1)		.65 (2)		.97 (3)		.75 (4)	
White Boys								
Father	0	(4)	25	(462)	23	(1075)	24	(1541)
Mother	50		25		8		13	
Ratio: Father/Mother	.00 (5)		1.00 (6)		2.87 (7)		1.78 (8)	
Negro Girls								
Father	16	(907)	20	(445)	32	(53)	18	(1405)
Mother	32		38		45		34	
Ratio: Father/Mother	.50 (9)		.52 (10)		.71 (11)		.53 (12)	
White Girls								
Father	22	(9)	26	(499)	32	(1056)	30	(1564)
Mother	22		20		27		35	
Ratio: Father/Mother	1.00 (13)		.77 (14)		.81 (15)		.80 (16)	

The predicted patterns were observed. Within each sex group, Negroes are less father-oriented than whites, with the single exception of Negro and white boys at North Negro High. This inversion is not significant, as the white boys at this school made only two responses for mother and none for father. Within each race group, boys are more father-oriented than girls, a finding consistent with the claim made in this chapter that fathers play a minor role in the socialization of the girl child. Again, there is one exception in the table: White girls are more father-oriented than white boys at North Negro High. This inversion involves an N of 4 for the white boys.

For the Negro group, both boys and girls showed more respect for their mothers than their fathers. This is pathological (in Murphy's sense) only for boys. For the white group, only girls showed more respect for their mothers. This is non-pathological for both sexes. This adds still further evidence for the thesis that the roles of mother and father are reversed in the Negro home relative to the white home.

Limitations f Parents as Peer Interaction Role Models

The main institutional link between the growing child and the society to which he is being trained for full participation, is the school--which is highly stratified by age. Successful performance in the peer group and in the school is highly valued in American society. Success, however, cannot be brought about directly by parents. In fact, doing well in these peer interaction situations has become a basis for continued emotional support and approval from parents. Parental love, under these conditions, becomes "conditional."[83]

Children do not make fine distinctions between the ages of their parents. For parents participate in institutional patterns that are not highly stratified by age. In a very real sociological sense, parents are perceived as age equivalent by their children: of course, parents are frequently almost the same age, with the man being slightly older than the woman being a prevalent pattern (as a result of the fact that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys). The child knows that he will eventually become an adult. But he also knows that before he attains this distant goal, he must first enter junior high school, then high school, and then possibly a vocational school or a college. The adolsecent is well aware that success here is related to the attainment of adult roles; this awareness is heightened by adult sanctions. In these formal educational institutions, behavior must change in subtle ways.

Since parents are not differentiated by their age, their friends are not either. Hence, as interactive role models, parents are potential socializers in the following kinds of peer interaction: (1) mother-female friends; (2) father-male friends; (3) mother-male friends; (4) father-female friends; (5) father-mother. In general there are two kinds of peer interaction participated in by parents: same-sex and cross-sex. We will examine each of these five kinds of interaction from the standpoint of the sex and race of children.

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[83] See Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York: William Morrow, 1942). Patterns of "conditional love" are examined in this book. This pattern is extreme in the United States, and seems to be characteristic of modern industrial societies with developed educational systems.

Same-sex peer interaction between the mother and her female friends is relevant for female children. In American society, there is no doubt that mothers provide a more adequate role model for their daughters than fathers do for their sons. The mother does interact with her female peers in the home. Further, the kinds of activities that engage in can also be engaged in by the girl, almost as soon as she is physically able. The qualitative difference between the mother as a role model and as an intentional role socializer is minimal. There is a very early direct apprenticeship in the adult feminine role. The activities of housewife and mother are immediately visible to the girl. Parsons points out that ". . . it is very notable that girls' play consists in cooking, sewing, playing with dolls, and so on, activities that are in a direct mimicry of their mothers."[84] There is also direct mimicry of their mother's same-sex peer interaction. As we have seen, role learning by girls is further facilitated by the fact that there is no transition of sex role identification in the latent electral stage: the role model remains the mother.

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[84] Talcott Parsons, "Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World," Psychiatry, 10 (1947), p. 171.

Same-sex peer interaction between the father and his male friends is relevant for male children. We have seen that the father is not a good intentional role socializer, especially in industrial societies. His role is not visible to the child. The occupational structure has shifted outside of the home, and increasingly involves production in indirect ways.[85] This is pronounced in the middle class, and is increasingly characteristic of the lower class. Parsons points out that ". . . the things the father does are intangible and difficult for the child to understand, such as working in an office, or even running a complicated machine tool."[86] The father has a difficult time preparing his sons to be instrumental: The kinds of instrumental activities they can participate in together are apt to involve the crudest level of instrumental behavior. For example, a father taking his son to a football game (in which they both participate in only indirectly) is instrumental role learning on a most larval level.

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[85] For an analysis of this, see Daniel Bell, "The Breakup of Family Capitalism: On Changes in Class in America," in Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties (New York: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 39-45.

[86] Parsons, "Certain Primary Sources," op. cit., p. 171.

The father is a less adequate instructional socializer for the boy than the other is for the girl. He is also a less adequate peer interaction role model. For his same-sex peer interactions are also centered outside of the home, in bowling alleys, bars and lounges, outdoor sports, etc. The male child, in contradistinction to the female child, cannot participate in these activities to great extent; further, he cannot even witness them.

As Slater points out, the extent to which parents are drawn apart by participation in same-sex groups in the American community is considerable. He adds that:

> . . . the phenomena is also striking in recreational activities, which fall largely into two categories: those which separate the sexes, and those which involve a reshuffling of partners. Occasionally we find both, as in the case of the traditional Victorian dinner party, during which husband and wife are always seated apart and after which the sexes retire to different rooms. In our society separation of the sexes is perhaps the more dominant form in the lower class, while the reshuffling of partners prevails in the middle class.[87]

Negro adults participate in more same-sex activities than white adults. As a result, Negro youth have less opportunity to view their parents in cross-sex peer interaction. The Negro father, deprived of much instrumental value in the economy and in his home, does not find much interpersonal role satisfaction from the nuclear family (the mother) or even from the kinship group.[88] For lower class whites, however, the kin unit is a primary source of satisfaction. Lower class Negroes participate in voluntary associations, whereas lower class whites participate in their families.[89] Family visiting among Negroes is irregular, and ties are looser. Babchuk and Thompson cite marital instability, frequent common-law marriages, maternal family organization in the lower class family, illegitimacy, desertion, and overcrowded housing as causes.[90]

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[87] Philip E. Slater, "On Social Regression," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 357.

Evidence is meager, but it is highly probable that Negro participation in voluntary organizations is more unisexual than for whites. In this generalization, church participation (which is hetero-sexual) is not considered as a voluntary organization.[91]

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[88] This is a major theme in the literature on lower class Negro life. See Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, "The Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), p. 653. For further support of this position, see: St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 208-251.

[89] Babchuk and Thompson, ibid.

[90] Ibid., p. 653.

[91] Ibid., p. 655. The authors write: "Increasingly, sociologists who have been studying voluntary associations rightly have been reluctant to count religious organizations (church affiliation) as voluntary groups. Lenski presents an incisive rationale for the position that religious organizations are different from other voluntary formal organizations." See Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. 17-19.

There are also peer interactions between mothers and male friends. The extent to which such interaction provides a role model for the child is limited, as many constraints are put on this interaction, and as these interactions are relatively infrequent.

We have discussed peer interaction between parents and non-parents of the same and the other sex. The remaining type of parental peer interaction is the cross-sex relations between the mother and the father. As has been shown in this chapter, this interaction is extremely important in the intentional role socialization of children. This interaction does not in general qualify peer interaction in the sense of providing a role model for the developing child. On this, D. TenHouten writes:

> Some instances of cross-sex peer interaction will occur as the father and mother interact, but most of their activity with the children, such as mother serving dinner, mother and father tucking the children into bed, or supervising the children's bath is likely to take place in a context of family roles. This does not qualify as peer interaction.[92]

In the sense that peer interaction is used here, defined as interaction between sociological "equals" within a given social structure, it is clear that mother and father are not peers. Their roles are highly structured and differentiated: in terms of the family as a system, they have "complimentary" roles. It could be argued that if parents are to be good role socializers, they will not be good peer interaction models in their interactions with each other, and visa versa. For, to be good role socializers, the mother and father must be clearly differentiated in their complimentary roles, i.e., the father as the instrumental task leader, and the mother as the expressive task leader. The more dichotomous the role allocation in the family, by definition, the less the extent to which the mother are peers, and peer interaction role models. This conclusion is, of course, limited to father-mother interaction. For the cases of father-peer and mother-peer interaction, good models can be provided by parents, and they can concomitantly be good instructional role socializers.

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[92] Diana TenHouten, "Peer Interaction Models and the Personality of Siblings," in progress, p. 5.

In a modern industrial society like the United States, the success of the socialization process depends upon the parents being adequate role socializers. Their contribution as role models is less crucial. Hence, from the standpoint of the welfare of the child, it is best that parents are predominantly purposive socializers rather than peer interaction role models with respect to each other. At the same time, as has been emphasized, it is advantageous for the child if parent-peer interaction models are provided by the child's mother and father. We have seen in this chapter that such interaction is provided to a more nearly "satisfying" level for girls than for boys. In the case of both sexes, however, it is also probable that parents are not the principal models for learning peer interaction. The child, and especially the boy, must find peer interaction models elsewhere. In Chapter IV, we shall see that older siblings are an important peer interaction role model. In Chapter V, data will be presented demonstrating the limited value parents have as peer interaction role models. Then in Chapter VI, high school peers themselves will be viewed as peer interaction role models.

Peer interaction depends heavily on the learning of appropriate sex and age roles. As was shown in this chapter, it is parents that are primarily responsible for teaching the child his appropriate sex roles. It will be shown in the next chapter that siblings are complimentary role socializers to parents. Parents are particularly important for the learning of sex roles; siblings are important for age roles. Parents, as role socializers, in conjunction with siblings, as role models, are predictive of adjustment to age-sex roles of adolescents and their peers in the high school. The importance of parents and siblings to behavior in the peer group will be the topic of the next two chapters.

Race differences as well as sex differences will be examined in terms of peer interaction. It is difficult for males, during adolescence, to establish social relations with girls. Since cross-sex role relations are one aspect of integrated roles with unlike components of a social system, and since Negro boys are socialized more slowly than white boys, it can be anticipated that the establishment of cross-sex role will be more difficult for the Negro boy than the white boy.

Relatives and Other Adult Socializers

Before proceeding to the chapter on siblings, one more set of data will be examined. With respect to Table 3.5, it was mentioned that Negro youth can be expected to name their parents as "Most admired and respected" more than white youth even though their parents are less adequate socializers. This was explained by the fact that Negro youth have a less adequate set of referents than white youth. In particular, Caucasians are at an advantage in socialization by important referents. For role socialization, the most relevant referents are parents and teachers. These are the referents with the greatest potential to socialize the child. Hence, we can expect Negroes who have less adequate parents and less adequate teachers, to choose more "marginal" referents most frequently. They should turn to non-parent relatives in the family and to other adults not in the school.

To examine this notion, the question on "Most admired and respected" people included codes of male and female relatives as alternatives to parents, and minister, priest, or rabbi and male and female "other adults" as alternatives to teachers.

Race difference should also be found between the sexes. Because of the sex role reversal in the Negro group vis-a-vis the white group, Negro boys can be expected to "admire and respect" female relatives more than white boys, and male relatives less. Similarly, Negro boys can be expected to admire and respect female other adults more than white boys, and male other adults less than white boys. For both relatives and other adults, the ratios of males to females chosen should be lower for Negro boys than for white boys.

For girls, the same results can be anticipated: Negro girls can be expected to admire and respect female relatives more than white girls, and their male relatives less. Similarly, Negro girls can be expected to name their female other adults more than white girls, and their male other adults less than white girls. As with boys, the ratios of males to females chosen should be lower for Negro girls than white girls for both relatives and other adults.

Data on the percentages of students in each race sex group naming the various referents as one of three most admired and respected people are presented in Table 3.6. The ratios of males to females given for relatives and other adults by each race sex group, for "All Schools," are presented in Table 3.7.

The frequencies with which Negro and white students mention these "marginal" referents is, for "All schools," in the direction indicated. A total of 43% of the Negro boys mention one or more, as opposed to 42% of the white boys.

TABLE 3.6--Percentages of Students Choosing Female Relative, Male Relative, Minister, Priest, or Rabbi, Other Male Adult, and Other Female Adult as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race Sex	Referents	North Negro %	North Negro (N)	North Mixed %	North Mixed (N)	North White %	North White (N)	All Schools %	All Schools (N)
Negro Boys	Male Relative	13	(560)	12	(283)	18	(39)	13	(882)
	Female Relative	9		10		13		10	
	Minister,Priest,Rabbi	10		7		5		9	
	Other Male Adult	10		3		5		8	
	Other Female Adult	4		1		0		3	
White Boys	Male Relative	25	(4)	16	(462)	19	(1075)	18	(1541)
	Female Relative	25		6		4		5	
	Minister,Priest,Rabbi	0		6		9		8	
	Other Male Adult	0		17		7		10	
	Other Female Adult	0		1		1		1	
Negro Girls	Male Relative	9	(907)	7	(445)	23	(53)	9	(1405)
	Female Relative	23		19		9		22	
	Minister,Priest,Rabbi	12		10		8		11	
	Other Male Adult	5		4		6		5	
	Other Female Adult	10		4		4		8	
White Girls	Male Relative	0	(9)	8	(499)	21	(1518)	16	(2026)
	Female Relative	12		14		6		8	
	Minister,Priest,Rabbi	12		6		11		9	
	Other Male Adult	22		4		4		4	
	Other Female Adult	22		4		3		3	

This is not a significant result, and is not followed within each of the three schools. A total of 55% of the Negro girls mention one or more, as opposed to 40% of the white girls. A limited amount of support is given to the notion that Negro youth will choose marginal referents more frequently than white youth.

Much stronger results are obtained for the race differences between the sexes. Almost full confirmation of the expected results is shown by the preceeding data for all three schools, though there is some between-school variation. Both Negro boys and Negro girls show more respect and admiration for their female referent and less for their male referent than white boys and girls, in comparing relatives and other adults. The single exception is that 5% of the Negro girls name other male adults, as opposed to 4% of the white girls. Even in this case, however, the ratio of male/female is lowest in the Negro group, as predicted. The ratios of male to female relatives and other adults for each race sex group are presented in Table 3.7.

The predicted ordering of ratios holds in all four cases, though there are exceptions within schools not shown in Table 3.7. Within each race group, there is same-sex preference shown for boys and girls in choosing relatives and other adults: Boys hold their male relatives in higher regard than girls of the same race relative to female relatives. That is:

(1) >(5), (2) >(6), (3) >(7), and (4) >(8), in Table 3.7. Only the Negro girls gave more choices to female than to male referents.

TABLE 3.7--Ratios of Students Choosing Male Relatives as Opposed to Female Relatives, and Male Other Adults as Opposed to Female Other Adults, as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race Sex	Relatives	Other Adults
	Male/Female	Male/Female
Negro Boys	1.25 (1)	2.68 (3)
White Boys	3.88 (2)	9.56 (4)
Negro Girls	.42 (5)	.60 (7)
White Girls	2.22 (6)	1.25 (8)

Hypotheses: (1) <(2); (3) <(4); (5) <(6); (7) <(8).

Results: Positive; Positive; Positive; Positive.

CHAPTER IV

ROLE SOCIALIZATION IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY: SIBLINGS AS SOCIALIZERS

Introduction

In discussion of socialization in the family, siblings are characteristically neglected, and emphasis is placed on parent-child relations. In the analysis of socialization, parents, teachers, and other role incumbents that are purposive socializers, or in Sarbin's terminology, that socialize by *intentional instruction*,[1] are emphasized. This was consistent with early theories of socialization, that emphasized direct means of socialization, e.g., parents introducing their children to the usage of money. As socialization theory evolved, however, it became increasingly apparent that socialization is an extremely complex process, and progresses not only purposively but also in inadvertant ways. The less visible, subtle ways of socialization have been called *incidental learning*,[2] and involve processes of identification with, and emulation of, role models in the imitator's behavioral field. It has been pointed out that intentional instruction and incidental learning operate conjointly. Yet they are analytically distinct: In intentional instruction, the socializee interacts directly with the socializer; in incidental learning, the socializee observes the socializer interact with others. In the preceeding chapter, the thesis was developed that parents socialize primarily by intentional instruction. Their success in this endeavor depends on their roles being differentiated along an expressive-instrumental continuum. That is, the success of parents as role socializers requires that parents are not peers to each other. This reduces their potential as peer interaction role models. They do, however, provide peer interaction role models in interacting with their peers. The structure of American society limits the types of peer interactions that are available as a role model to the child. In this chapter, we shall see that siblings socialize by incidental learning; their interaction with peers provides peer interaction role models.

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[1] Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Gardner Lindzey, ed., *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 1, *Theory and Method* (Reading Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), p. 225.

[2] *Ibid.*

As role theory developed, greater cognizance of these "incidental" processes developed, with a consequent change in the substantive and theoretical focus of socialization theory. Attention came to be focused more and more on socializing agents that are role models and that socialize by incidental learning. A body of literature developed on adolescents and their peers: Peers came to be regarded as so influential that an "adolescent subculture" was seen to exist within the social structure of the American high school.[3] We will examine this in the early pages of the next chapter. For now, suffice it to say that a lot of the socialization process has been taken out of the hands of parents and placed in formal educational institutions. Within this context, there has been an increasing emphasis on peer interaction, i.e., on interaction between "equals" in a given social setting.[4]

The increased emphasis on peer interaction has been accompanied by an increased emphasis on siblings as socializers. Like non-sibling peers in the high school, siblings in the family socialize primarily by incidental learning. The number, order, and sex of siblings, as we shall see, is predictive of sex role and age role adjustment in peer interaction.

To summarize, both siblings and peers are role models; parents and teachers, on the other hand, are role socializers. These labels refer to the two main processes of role socialization: For role models, incidental learning; for role socializers, intentional instruction. Siblings will be studied in this chapter, and peers in the next two.

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[3] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

[4] The following studies are characteristic: Ibid.; George Lundburg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association Among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," American Sociological Review, 17 (1952), pp. 23-35; Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957); H. J. Hallworth, "Sociometric Relations Among Grammar School Boys and Girls Between the Ages of Eleven and Sixteen Years," Sociometry, 16 (1953), pp. 39-70.

A significant proportion of the section "Role Relations Between Siblings," is adapted from a forthcoming research report by Diana TenHouten, "Peer Interaction Models and the Personality of Siblings."

On Psychoanalytic and Parsonian Theory and Siblings

In the preceeding chapter, we saw that Parsons and coworkers have established great continuity between psychoanalytic theory and role socialization theory in phases of psycho-sexual and sociological growth. Neither Freudian nor Parsonian theory has much to say about siblings. They focus on the meaning of having a sibling for parent-child (and especially mother-son) relations. Sibling-sibling and sibling-peer relations are largely ignored.

In psychoanalytic theory, Freud, and especially Adler,[5] take the position that lower order siblings envy higher order siblings, because the older ones are more skilled and mature, and hence in a better position to gain approval from the parents. Younger siblings, realizing this, manifest hatred toward older siblings. Older siblings hate younger ones because they received more care and attention. In particular, boys compete with their brothers for their mother's attention; girls compete with their sisters for their father's attention. Middle order siblings are viewed by Adler as ambitious, but the best adjusted. The youngest child is seen as spoiled: Next to the oldest child, he is apt to be maladjusted. This entire process is called sibling rivalry.

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[5] Alfred Adler, What Life Should Mean to You (Boston: Little, 1931), pp. 144-154.

The psychoanalytic theory of sibling rivalry receives little support from empirical research.[6] It is not a theory about siblings, as it is concerned primarily with child-parent relations: Child-child relations are explained entirely in terms of interaction with parents. It is essentially a jealousy theory. It is not a learning theory to the extent to which siblings are not seen as learning from each other.

According to Freudian theory, siblings do not socialize each other in terms of psycho-sexual development. On the contrary, cross-sex sibling relations pose a potential threat of withdrawal of cathexis from larger aggregates to the confines of the nuclear family.[7] Dyadic withdrawal by siblings retards the waxing of erotic instincts which Freud sees as ". . . always trying to collect living substance together into ever larger unities."[8] The social institution which anticipates this possible dyadic withdrawal is the instinct taboo. Parsons accepts this view, referring to incest as socially regressive withdrawal from ". . . the obligation to contribute to the formation and maintainance of supra familial bonds on which the major economic, political, and religious functions of the society are dependent."[9] By agreeing with Freud on this point, Parsons is implicitly saying that siblings are not important to each other in terms of role socializaton. In comparing Freud and Parsons in Chapter III, we saw that the psychological view of family roles led to the conclusion that the oedipal situation is more difficult for the girl to resolve than the boy, whereas the sociological view of family roles led to the opposite conclusion, that it is more difficult for the boy. Here, too, the perspective influences the conclusion. From a psychoanalytic point-of-view, Freud and Adler conclude that siblings are not relevant to each other in psycho-social development. Parsons, from a more nearly sociological viewpoint, does not deviate from the psychoanalytic view. It will be shown that this view is not entirely correct.

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[6] H. E. Jones, "Order of Birth in Relation to the Development of the Child," in C. Murchison, ed., Handbook of Child Psychology (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931), pp. 449-487.

[7] Philip E. Slater, "On Social Regression," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 339-364.

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[8] Sigmund Freud, New Introductory Lectures (London: Hogarth, 1949), p. 139.

[9] Talcott Parsons, "The Incest Taboo in Relation to Social Structure and the Socialization of the Child," British Journal of Sociology, 5 (1954), pp. 106-107, 114. Parsons cites Fortene and Levi-Strauss in support of this position. Also see Slater, op. cit., p. 342.

Regardless of how relevant siblings are to each other in psycho-social development, they clearly are relevant to each other in terms of role socialization. A jealousy model is not consistent with the sociological conceptualization of role socialization.

Parsons' theory of socialization in the family is more sociological than the "mainstreams" of Parsonian theory. But with respect to siblings, the analysis is "reduced" to a nearly psychoanalytic orientation: There is almost no departure from the Freudian analysis of the Oedipal (and Electral) complex. Learning is discussed not in terms of roles, but of internalization: The process is viewed more in terms of sexual identity than of sex role behavior.

With regard to role socialization, the psychoanalytic approach is not very helpful in explaining role socialization of siblings by siblings. There are certain oversimplifications, or omissions, in the theory that have been shown by recent research to lead to certain deficiencies. Secondly, Freudian theory, as mentioned, does not lend itself readily to explaining relations between siblings. In the next section, we will summarize Parsons' treatment of siblings, and then attempt to develop more adequate theoretical concepts.

Parsons' Analysis of Sibling-Sibling Relations in the Nuclear Family

In review, Parsons contends that the pre-oedipal mother-child system is a two member system, with a "you," a "me," and a "non-we." In the second role bifurcation, ". . . 'father' and 'mother' are differentiated out from the earlier 'you' and 'self' (and/or sibling of own sex) and 'sibling of opposite sex' are differentiated out from the earlier 'me'."[10]

The four basic roles in the family are defined by sex and by generation. In the usual Parsonian style, these role definitions are dichotomies. Hence, sibs of the same sex are role equivalent.

At this stage of development, three "identifications" are established, by which is meant

> internalization of any common collective "we-categorization" . . . . Two of them are common to members of both sexes, namely internalization of the familial we-category, and the sibling category, namely "we children." The third, by sex, differs for the children of each sex; in this third sense the boy identifies with the father, the girl with her mother.[11]

For the third identification the girl is not making a new identification because children of both sexes identify with the mother at the pre-oedipal phases. This is why the female counterpart of the Oedipus crisis, the Electral crisis, is less traumatic for girls than boys.[12] At the electral stage, the girl needs to identify with the father as object only ". . . in his role as instrumental leader of the family as a system, not in the dual role which includes sex-role-model as well."[13]

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[10] Talcott Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 78.

[11] Ibid., p. 93.

In Parsons' theory, the age role is defined by generation. There are along this dimension two roles--parent and child. Children are not differentiated by age, as they are of the same generation. Finer distinctions of age grading are often needed, however. This is such a case. For, except in the case of multiple births, children are of different ages. Sibling research has shown that birth order is an extremely important variable in predicting behavior and personal adjustment.[14] Older sibs have particular relevance for role socialization. Age will be examined as a variable in sib-sib interaction in this chapter. It will be shown that sibs of the same sex are by no means role-equivalent. There are well-structured role relations between same-sex siblings, that systematically vary by age. There are also well-structured role relations between cross-sex siblings that vary by age. Failure to differentiate between the ages of children in the family is a damaging over-simplification. This becomes increasingly true in modern industrial societies, where the educational process takes place in schools that are highly stratified by age gradings.[15] Under these conditions, we shall see that the presence of older siblings is a valuable asset for the child: In terms of peer interacton, of personality adjustment, and in terms of later attainment of adjustment to adult roles. This is in direct contradistinction to Freudian sibling rivalry theory. The importance of the relative age of siblings for performance in educational institutions is heightened by the fact that these institutions are the only socializing agent that is highly stratified by age grading. The nuclear family, in contradistinction, is conspicuous in the extent to which children are treated alike, regardless of their age or sex. Parsons writes:

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[12] Ibid., p. 98.

[13] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[14] Diana TenHouten, op. cit.; Charles McArthur, "Personalities of First and Second Children," Psychiatry, 19 (1956), pp. 47-53; Helen Koch, "Attitudes of Young Children Toward their Peers as Related to Certain Characteristics of their Siblings," Psychological Monographs: General and Applied (Washington: American Psychological Association, 1956), pp. 1-41; Orville G. Brim, "Family Structure and Sex-Role Learning by Children," Sociometry, 21 (1958), pp. 1-16; Helen Koch, "Some Personality Correlates of Sex, Sibling Position and Sex of Sibling," Genetic Psychology Monographs (Provincetown, Massachusetts: The Journal Press, 1955).

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[15] Davis points out that the school is American society's ". . . most thoroughly age-graded institution. With compulsory promotion now operating in most public school systems, we have a form of automatic, involuntary age-grading which has few parallels in primitive societies. In the social life of the elementary or secondary school pupil, great differentiation in rank and clique behavior exists between groups separated by only one or two age-grades." Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, 6 (1941), p. 349. To this, Parsons adds that ". . . in school the child is thrown with others of his age in the same class--and of course greater refinements of age-grading are emphasized by the fact that a school has a whole series of grades." The school is also seen as being focused primarily around the generational differentiation between teachers and students, whereas the peer group is focused on sex categorization. "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Parsons and Bales, Family, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

> Birth order as such is notably neglected as a basis of discrimination; a child of eight and a child of five have essentially the privileges and responsibilities appropriate to their respective age levels without regard to their order, ... The preferential treatment of an older child is not to any significant extent differentiated if and because he happens to be the first born.[16]

He adds:

> . . . the equality of privileges and responsibilities, graded only by age but not by birth order, is extended to a certain degree throughout the life cycle.[17]

In educational institutions, the primary role stratification is by age: Birth order is not considered, nor is sex to any great extent.

This cultural pattern of not differentiating birth order within the family is consistent with extra-familial disregard of a person's birth order. But differentiations of birth order are bases of role socialization of siblings by siblings. The presence of older siblings provides a role model for learning age-specific behavioral patterns that will be appropriate at school. The contributions that parents make to learning this finely age differentiated role behavioral patterns are minimal; siblings, on the other hand, provide valuable role models in terms of peer interaction. On this, Davis writes:

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[16] Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), p. 605.

[17] Ibid.

> . . . children with siblings near them in age have constantly before them the goal of the older siblings, behavior to pace them in learning the appropriate age-sex behavior. The only child, the first child, or a child separated by about six years from his nearest sibling on the other hand, has to face a tremendously steep age-barrier.[18]

In a sociological sense, same-sex siblings that differ in age also differ in sex, i.e., older female sibs are more expressive (a female role trait) than their younger sisters; older male sibs are more instrumental (a male role trait) than their younger brothers. Hence, an older sib is a role model not only in terms of age role learning but also for sex role learning. Their is impressive evidence that older siblings facilitate the learning of sex appropriate roles.[19]

In summary, this chapter began with a statement that the psychoanalytic theory does not view siblings as a source of growth and maturation. In terms of role socialization--which emphasizes the learning of future roles, rather than the resolving of past psychological dilemmas, siblings were viewed as valuable referents.

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[18] Davis, op. cit., p. 348.

[19] D. TenHouten, op. cit.; also see the references to Koch and Brim in ff 14 of this chapter; Dara Damarin, "Family Size and Sibling Age, Sex Position as Related to Certain Aspects of Adjustment," Journal of Social Psychology, 29 (1949), pp. 93-102. Other references to sibling research in the TenHouten article include: Ross Stagner and E. T. Katzoff, "Personality as Related to Birth Order and Family Size," Journal of Applied Psychology, 20 (1936), pp. 340-346; Franz Hillinger, "Introversion as Related to Birth Order," Zeitschrift fur Experimentelle und Angewandte Psychologie, 5 (1958), pp. 268-276.

According to the psychoanalytic view, sibling rivalry stems from competition to maintain psychological sex identifications with parents. The more role conflict and role reversal that exists between parents, the more intense and psychologically damaging this rivalry should be. We already know that there is more sex role reversal and sex role conflict in the Negro home and in the white home. Hence, we have a means to compare the predictive power of the two conceptualizations of siblings and personality growth. Psychoanalytic sibling rivalry theory leads to the prediction that siblings should be most deliterious in the Negro group. Kardiner and Ovesey, in a psychoanalytic study of Negroes, concur with the sibling rivalry theory. They write:

> . . . sibling attitudes in the lower (Negro) class show that animosity and hatred are the rule, with complete severance of relations. But there are many variations of this motif. In some instances, attitudes to siblings are friendly, but ties are not currently maintained. In other cases, ties are maintained by a sense of duty, but attitudes are very hostile. In still other instances, the animosity is so violent that the relations are on a homocidal basis. The deteriorated quality of siblings relationships is easily explained. The opportunities for affection and material necessities in the lower-class child are severely limited. In the struggle to obtain a share of these scarcities, the ensuing rivalry is bitter and enormously exaggerated, in contrast to that between more privileged children.

> In the middle class, the picture changes considerably. Here, animosity is controlled and ties are maintained, notwithstanding an undercurrent of rivalry. In the upper classes, the attitude is about the same.[20]

The theory of role socialization developed here leads to exactly the opposite prediction. Since Negroes have more sex role conflict in their families than whites, and since they lack socializing referents, they should learn more from their siblings, not less. The most disadvantaged race sex group of all--Negro boys--have the most difficulty resolving the Oedipus complex, and establishing a stable adult sex role. As Kardiner and Ovesey point out, ". . . there is little doubt that the persistence of the oedipus complex is a definite indication of retardation of development."[21] This group, according to sibling rivalry theory, should be most hostile to their siblings, and receive the most hostility from their siblings. We predict here that Negro boys should show the strongest benefits from the presence of an older same-sex sibling than any of the other three groups.

Role Relations Between Siblings

As mentioned, Parsons shifts his emphasis from role socialization to psycho-sexual "identification" when he considers siblings: The perspective is very close to Freud.

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[20] Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression: Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 67-68.

[21] *Ibid*., p. 26. Also see Chapter III of this book.

Freud's treatment of siblings, however, takes place only in a context of parent-child interaction. Consequently, there is little elaboration of role relations between siblings in Parsonian theory. In fact, it is implied that siblings barely _do_ have a role _vis-a-vis_ one another. It will be shown in this chapter that siblings do indeed have role relations with each other, that very systematically with the age, sex, and race of siblings.

Siblings clearly perceive age differences among themselves. This perception develops very early, and is important for socialization. The principal institutional link between the growing child and the society to which he is being trained for full status and social participation is the school--which is highly stratified by age. A fourth grader that has an older sib in the sixth grade has a highly relevant role model for learning and emulating patterns of interaction that will enable him to adjust to correct behavior in each successive grade. Successful performance in the peer group and in the school are highly valued in American society. Parents cannot insure success. Nor can siblings. But siblings can help in very systematic ways. In this chapter, we shall examine data on the effects of older siblings on adjustment to the peer group; in Chapter V, we shall look at the effects of parents.

In Chapter III, we focused on parents as role socializers and as role models. In this chapter, we shall develop a theoretical extension of this role analysis for siblings as role socializers and as role models. It will be shown that, to a great extent, parents and siblings are complimentary referents for the developing youth: Parents are predominantly role socializers; siblings, role models. As role models, siblings are highly relevant for peer interaction in the high school. As role socializers, parents are of limited value for peer interaction. In Chapter X, siblings will be found to have some value in preparing youth for the attainment of post-high school educational and occupational goals. Parents, however, will be found to be of much greater importance for this purposive role socialization.

In a society characterized by the nuclear family, the presence of an older sibling greatly increases the probability that a youth will have both same-sex and cross-sex peer interaction role models. Older siblings bring their peers within the boundaries of the family group, where the younger siblings spend their time. (Parents, as we saw in Chapter III, do not engage in this visible peer interaction process.) The older sibling, in interacting with his or her peers, provides a model of peer interaction for the younger sib to view; to emulate, and occasionally to participate in directly.

In Chapter III, we saw from Parsons' theory that all children in the American nuclear family are differentiated from adults along the power dimension: Children occupy the inferior role, and parents the superior. In this respect, children are peers (role equivalents). This differentiation is based on generation: Birth order is not a factor. Children are, however, differentiated according to their sex roles: Boys are inferior instrumental; girls, inferior expressive. In the family structure of the United States, children are treated alike by parents in many respects, i.e., all siblings in a family are in many respects peers to each other, particularly with respect to their age roles.

Siblings are age peers in the family. But in the school, they are not age peers. As children differ in biological age, and enter the school system at approximately the same biological ge, they are in different grades in school. Each grade has a certain set of obligations and expectations, i.e., they are age grades. The older sibling has been through the grade his younger sibling is in. As a result, he or she is able to impart information of how the younger sib should act, and serves as a role model. There are a variety of combinations of younger and older male and female siblings. Each combination will be discussed in this section in terms of socialization of younger siblings by elder siblings. Data from the Northern Schools in the sample will be presented along with the discussion. Before proceeding with the theoretical discussion, the nature of the data will be discussed.

In sibling research, family size and internal structure introduces many problems of control. For a family containing n children, there are 2^n ways to arrange the children by sex and birth order, and n ways to select one child from this family: Thus, there are $n2^n$ ways to sample one child from a family of n children. As a result of this exponential increase in complexity as family size increases, studies of siblings characteristically limit the analysis to small families. This procedure will be followed here. Each sutdent in the sample will have exactly one sibling. The presence of an older sibling of a given sex as an independent variable will be further simplified, to eliminate interaction between older brothers and older sisters. This will be done as follows: If the presence of an older brother (sister) is the independent variable, the sample members without an older brother (sister) will also not have an older sister (brother). Since the members without an older brother (sister) must have one sib, and they cannot have an older sib, they must have one younger sib. These younger sibs will not be differentiated by sex, as they are not important socializers. In summary, there will be two types of samples from which hypotheses will be tested:

A.	B.
Older Brother (No other siblings)	Older Sister (No other siblings)
No Older Brother (One younger sibling of either sex)	No Older Sister (One younger sibling of either sex)

The substantive focus here will be on the predictibility of older siblings to success in the peer group of the high school. If older siblings do in fact contribute to the socialization of the child to peer interaction, children with older siblings that socialize should enter into role relations commensurate with the view of socialization developed in Chapter II. A theoretical statement of what happens in the peer group and to the peer group as socialization will be developed in Chapter VI. Here, it will be sufficient to state that the General System conceptualization of the growth process will be shown to be extensile to behavior in the group and of the group as a sociological entity.

As children are socialized, they will form integrated role relations with incumbants of different roles in the social system of the school. In particular, they should increase in the extent to which they form friendship patterns with children of different race and sex groups.

It cannot be expected, however, that a race sex group in a school will both give and receive more cross-sex choices than the other sex group of that race. For only a handful of choices crossed both race and sex roles, i.e., there was little choosing between Negro girls and white boys, and little between white girls and Negro boys. Thus, if white boys choose white girls more than white girls choose them back, boys make more choices and girls receive more. This does not make it necessary to throw out one of cross-sex choices made or cross-sex choices received as an index of socialization. But it can be expected that the strength of the relationships between older siblings and the weaker of the measures will be attenuated. The weaker measure appears to be choices made, as it is students with the highest status--that are overchosen--that are the most developed sociologically.

The same should hold for cross-race choosing. One would not find consistent evidence in sociological literature that cross-race choosing increases with age, or that it is an index of socialization. From the theoretical statement of Chapter II, however, we can conclude that cross-race choosing _is_ an index of socialization, as it involves interdependence and integration of unlike role components in the social system. From the thesis that Negroes are socialized more slowly that whites, it can be expected that it will be more difficult for Negroes to establish role relations with whites than for white to establish role relations with Negroes. Sociological research on cross-race roles in high schools does not in general show a marked increase of these roles over age. This is perhaps a result of training and of cultural expectations. In terms of the socialization process here, it is often the case that children are arrested at the differentiated stage in the learning of cross-race roles. (Many popular writers have said that children at very early age do not differentiate among races of their peers, but that they learn to do so. This in itself is not pathological: The same differentiation occurs for sex roles as a natural stage of development. The pathological cultural conditioning enters at the third stage. Children are in general able to attain integrated sex roles more easily than integrated race roles.) Sociological research on race does, however, show that Negroes do have more difficulty in establishing cross-race roles than whites. It is a well-established finding that racial and ethnic minorities show a higher level of self-preference than racial and ethnic majorities. Lundburg and Dickson have shown that Negro high school students show greater self-preference than whites.[22] In Chapter VII, we shall see that this finding is supported by data from the Northern High Schools.

In addition to the above measures of socialization, it is desirable to have an overall measure of the *integration* of students with their peers. One general measure of integration--the final stage of socialization into a system--

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[22] George A. Lundburg and Lenore Dickson, "Interethnic Relations in a High School Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), pp. 1-10. Also see George A. Lundburg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association Among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," *American Sociological* Review, 17 (1952), pp. 23-35. A recent study by St. John confirms this result: see Nancy Hoyt St. John, "De Facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High School," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), pp. 334-338.

as suggested by Moreno,[23] is the reciprocation of choices made. If A chooses B as a friend, and B also chooses A, they are said to have reciprocated. The proportion of choices reciprocated should be highest for children with older siblings that are postulated to socialize.

The structure of the sociometric data, and the theory of growth in sociometric groups, will be presented in detail in Chapter VI. Students were asked to name their three best friends. From this, it was possible to determine the total sociometric status, the cross-sex sociometric status, the cross-race sociometric status, the cross-sex and cross-race choices made, and the number of reciprocations, for every student in the sample. Since a large majority of students fall into the 0 or 1 frequency for each of these variables, the items were all dichotomized. We have seen that the independent variables are also dichotomized. Hence, all hypotheses will be tested with 2 by 2 tables.

In each relationship, the presence of the older sib and the highest status will have the largest value, so the predicted correlations will be positive for siblings that socialize. (Some situations will be shown not to produce socialization.) The significance of phi (of chi-square) will be used as a significance test, and Ø/Ø max and

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[23] J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, and Sociodrama (New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1953), p. 212.

Yule's Q will be used as descriptive measures of association between the independent and dependent variables.[24]

First, we will discuss socialization of younger brothers by older brothers, then socialization of younger brothers by older sisters, then younger brothers by older sisters, and finally younger sisters by older sisters.

An older brother provides a same-sex instructional role socializer by interacting directly with his younger brother. In this respect, he supplements the father. In addition, he is equipped to inform his younger brother of age-appropriate and sex-appropriate behavior for peer group interaction. This is attained both directly, through interaction between the brothers, and indirectly, through the younger brother observing his older brothers interaction with male peers. By watching and emulating this behavior, the younger sib learns how he will be expected to act with his friends when he attains older age grades.

To a limited extent, an older brother provides a role model by interacting with his female peers. This interaction is normally dyadic, and is quite often centered in the girl's home or in adolescent groups outside of either home.

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[24] Note: Since the proportions in marginal subtotals will be unbalanced in Tables 4.1--4.4, ϕ/ϕ max, which ranges from -1 to +1, will be used as a descriptive measure of association, along with Yule's Q. See Edward E. Cureton, "Note on ϕ/ϕ_{MAX}," Psychometrica, 24 (1959), pp. 89-91. As usual, "*" and "**" will denote the .05 and .01 levels of significance, respectively, for ϕ.

Hence, the younger brother infrequently observes this interaction directly; instead, he learns it vicariously, through direct interaction with the older brother. When this is socializing at all, it tends to be characteristic of purposive role socialization.

The data for boys and their older brothers are presented in Table 4.1.

Striking race differences appear in this table. Negro boys, who lack adequate referents more than any other race sex group, benefit greatly from having an older brother. White boys, gain only on the basis of learning cross-sex interaction, but gain nothing in terms of same-sex interaction.

These data add additional evidence to the view that Negro boys have a less adequate set of socializing referents, and will benefit from those that they do have to a greater degree than white boys.

Total sociometric status and the number of choices reciprocated are perhaps the most general indices of socialization in the preceeding table. The correlations were positive, as expected, for the Negro boys. But for white boys there was no correlation for total sociometric status and a weak negative correlation for choices reciprocated.

Older brothers socialize Negro boys to cross-race interaction, but older brothers do not socialize white boys to cross-race interaction. These results are highly inconclusive, however, as there were very few cross-race choices made by either group.

TABLE 4.1--Associations Between Presence of Older Brothers and Selected Indices of Socialization, for Boys With One Sibling, by Race: Northern Schools.

		Negro Boys			White Boys		
		Status			Status		
Index	Older Brother	One or More	None	Total	One or More	None	Total
Total Sociometric Status	Yes	21	16	37	42	52	94
	No	27	46	73	96	120	216
Total		48	62	110	138	172	310
		Ø+.19*,Ø/Ømax=.23 Ømax-.31, Q=.38			Ø=.00,Ø/Ømax =.00 Ømax=.74, Q =.00		
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	Yes	5	32	37	15	79	94
	No	6	67	73	15	201	216
Total		11	99	·110	30	280	310
		Ø=.08, Ø/Ømax=.17 Ømax=.48, Q=.28			Ø=.14*,Ø/Ømax=.28 Ømax=.50, Q =.45		
Cross-Sex Choices Made	Yes	5	32	37	14	80	94
	No	2	71	73	18	198	216
Total		7	103	110	32	278	310
		Ø=.21*,Ø/Ømax=.57 Ømax=.37, Q=.69			Ø=.10*,Ø/Ømax=.20 Ømax=.51, Q =.32		
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	Yes	2	35	37	1	93	94
	No	1	72	73	3	213	216
Total		3	107	110	4	306	310
		Ø=.12, Ø/Ømax=.46 Ømax=.24, Q=.61			Ø=-.01,Ø/Ømax=-.13 Ømax=.08, Q=-.13		
Cross-Race Choices Made	Yes	1	36	37	1	93	94
	No	1	72	73	3	213	216
Total		2	108	110	4	306	310
		Ø=.05, Ø/Ømax=.19 Ømax=.25, Q=.34			Ø=-.01,Ø/Ømax=-.13 Ømax=.08, Q=-.13		
Number of Choices Reciprocated	Yes	11	26	37	18	76	94
	No	13	60	73	55	161	216
Total		24	86	110	73	237	310
		Ø=.14, Ø/Ømax=.18 Ømax=.75, Q=.32			Ø=-.07,Ø/Ømax=-.21 Ømax=.34, Q=-.18		

An older sister also provides a role model for her younger brothers. Her dating behavior is visible to the younger brother; at a minimum, most dates begin and end at the girl's home.

An older sister socializes by instructional means only to a limited extent. As boys go through the latent phase of social and sexual development, there is an effort to shed expressive behavior which had been internalized early in the mother-son identity. Hence, the adolescent boy has little need for a role socializer that is expressive.

An older sister's same-sex peer interaction is neither instructional socialization nor an incidental role model for the boy.

The data for boys and their older sisters are presented in Table 4.2.

Sisters, like brothers, are of higher utility for the Negro boy than for the white boy. Older sisters make a significant contribution to total sociometric status for Negro boys. For white boys, the presence of older sisters has a weak negative relation to total sociometric status.

For both races, sisters slightly decrease cross-sex status but slightly increase cross-sex choices made.

Sisters are negatively related to cross-race status and choosing for both race groups. As with brothers, the infrequency of cross-race choosing makes this finding highly tentative.

TABLE 4.2--Associations Between Presence of Older Sisters and Selected Indices of Socialization, for Boys With One Sibling, by Race: Northern Schools.

Index	Older Sister	Negro Boys			White Boys		
		Status			Status		
		One or More	None	Total	One or More	None	Total
Total Sociometric Status	Yes	17	12	29	40	71	111
	No	27	44	71	96	120	216
Total		44	56	100	136	191	327
		Ø=.19*,Ø/Ømax=.26 Ømax=.72, Q=.41			Ø=-.08,Ø/Ømax=-.13 Ømax=.60, Q=-.13		
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	Yes	0	29	29	5	106	111
	No	6	65	71	15	201	216
Total		6	94	100	20	307	327
		Ø=-.16,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=-.16, Q=-1.00			Ø=-.04,Ø/Ømax=-.13 Ømax=.30 Q=-.05		
Cross-Sex Choices Made	Yes	1	28	29	9	102	111
	No	2	69	71	18	198	216
Total		3	97	100	27	300	327
		Ø=.01,Ø/Ømax= .04 Ømax=.20, Q= .03			Ø-.00,Ø/Ømax = .00 Ømax=.42, Q = .01		
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	Yes	0	29	29	1	110	111
	No	1	70	71	3	213	216
Total		1	99	100	4	323	327
		Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=-.06, Q=-1.00			Ø=-.02,Ø/Ømax=-.24 Ømax=.08, Q=-.22		
Cross-Race Choices Made	Yes	0	29	29	1	110	111
	No	1	70	71	3	213	216
Total		1	99	100	4	323	327
		Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=-.06, Q=-1.00			Ø=-.02,Ø/Ømax=-.24 Ømax=.08 Q=-.22		
Number of Choices Reciprocated	Yes	10	19	29	13	93	110
	No	13	58	71	55	161	216
Total		23	77	100	73	254	327
		Ø=.16,Ø/Ømax=.14 Omax=.84 Q=.38			Ø=-.10*,Ø/Ømax=-.52 Ømax=.18, Q=-.22		

The data indicate that sisters are of some value to the Negro boy, though not as much as brothers. Sisters, however, contribute little to the socialization of the white boy. It is not surprising that this would be the case, as Negro girls are precocious relative to Negro boys, and the gap is greater than for the white group. It was not anticipated, however, that there would be negative correlations for white boys and their older sisters.

Though we have no direct evidence from the primary data, it seems reasonable to believe that the presence of older sisters for Negro boys are a mixed blessing. Though girls have some potential as role models, the Negro boy already has an environment that is filled with powerful females, and undoubtedly finds them threatening as well as helpful. For instance, though older sisters slightly increase the extent to which Negro boys will choose girls, choices were not returned to boys with older sisters.

Throughout the text, the reversal of sex roles in the Negro family has been emphasized. This reversal is not complete, and is not confined entirely to the Negro group. The white boy as well has difficulty establishing a sex role of his own, and is also threatened to some extent by female socializers.

Next, we will consider older brothers and younger sisters.

An older brother provides a cross-sex role model for his younger sister. His cross-sex interaction, particularly dating, is not very visible to the younger sister, however.

An older brother socializes by instruction only to a limited extent. We have seen that even the father is of limited value here; the older brother is of even less importance.

An older brother's same-sex peer interaction is neither instructional socialization nor a role model. But this interaction is important for girls in high school. It will be discussed in the next section.

Data for socialization of girls by their older brothers are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 3.4 indicates that older brothers are of limited value for younger sisters.

For both Negro and white girls, there is no relationship between the presence of older brothers and total sociometric status. Negro girls derive some benefit from cross-sex interaction. For white girls, the associations between brothers and cross-sex statuses are negative. Cross-race status and choices made bear a weak negative relationship to older brothers for both Negro and white girls. The only case in which white girls have a higher correlation is for number of choices reciprocated, as white girls have a weak positive correlation and Negro girls a weak negative correlation.

TABLE 4.3--Associations Between Presence of Older Brothers and Selected Indices of Socialization, for Girls With One Sibling, by Race: Northern Schools.

Index	Older Brother	Negro Girls			White Girls		
		Status			Status		
		One or More	None	Total	One or More	None	Total
Total Sociometric Status	Yes	41	52	93	73	48	121
	No	96	120	216	136	81	217
Total		137	172	309	209	129	338
		Ø=.00,Ø/Ømax=.00 Ømax=.74, Q=-.01			Ø=-.02,Ø/Ømax=-.02 Ømax=.95, Q=-.05		
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	Yes	15	78	93	8	113	121
	No	15	201	216	21	196	217
Total		30	279	309	29	309	338
		Ø=.14*,Ø/Ømax=.29 Ømax=.49, Q=.46			Ø=-.05,Ø/Ømax=-.22 Ømax=.23, Q=-.20		
Cross-Sex Choices Made	Yes	13	80	93	9	112	121
	No	18	198	216	18	199	217
Total		31	278	309	27	311	338
		Ø=.09,Ø/Ømax=.18 Ømax=.49, Q= .25			Ø=-.01,Ø/Ømax=-.01 Ømax=.23, Q=-.06		
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	Yes	1	92	93	0	121	121
	No	3	213	216	1	216	211
Total		4	305	309	1	337	338
		Ø=-.01,Ø/Ømax=-.01 Ømax=.75 Q=-.13			Ø=-.04,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=.04, Q=-1.00		
Cross-Race Choices Made	Yes	1	92	93	0	121	121
	No	3	213	216	2	215	217
Total		4	305	309	2	336	338
		Ø=-.01,Ø/Ømax=-.01 Ømax=.75, Q=-.13			Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax.06, Q=-1.00		
Number of Choices Reciprocated	Yes	18	75	93	56	65	121
	No	55	161	216	83	134	217
Total		73	237	309	139	199	338
		Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-.17 Ømax=.37, Q=-.17			Ø=.08,Ø/Ømax=.09 Ømax=.89 Q=.16		

In general, Negro girls benefit from older brothers more than white girls. In Table 4.2, we saw that the reverse is also true. Negro boys benefit from older sisters more than white boys. Hence, it is a general finding that cross-sex siblings are more important for the socialization of Negro youth than for white youth. Given the difficulty with which Negro youth have in learning sex-roles from their role-reversed parents, and the general lack of adequate socializing referents available to the Negro adolescent, this is not surprising. It was expected, however, that white boys and girls would benefit more from older cross-sex siblings than is indicated by the Q's and 0's in the above tables.

An older sister provides a same-sex instructional role socializer, by interacting directly with the younger. But the contribution made by sisters to sisters should be smaller than the corresponding contribution made by brothers to brothers, as girls have a more adequate role trainer in the mother than the boys do in the father, with respect to same-sex role learning. The main contribution of older sisters to younger sisters is in terms of age-appropriate behavior.

An older sister provides a role model by interacting with her female peers. By observing this interaction, the girl learns how she will be expected to act with her friends when she attains older age grades. Again, as girls have no change in sexual identification in their role socialization, they have little difficulty adjusting to same-sex interaction. As a result, this kind of socialization is less important to girls than to boys.

To some extent, an older sister provides a cross-sex role model for interaction with her male peers. This interaction is usually dyadic, and centered in the girl's home. The younger sibling can view this interaction more directly than boys can for their older brothers and their female dates.

Data for girls and their older sisters are presented in Table 4.4

As in the preceeding three tables, the associations between older sibling and high status are higher for the Negro group.

For Negro girls, there is a significant correlation between having an older sister and total sociometric status. For white girls, this result is weakly negative. The relationship for cross-sex status is also significantly positive for the Negro girls, and weakly negative for white girls. The same relationships hold for cross-sex choices made. For Negro girls, the correlation is positive, though not statistically significant; for white girls, the correlation is significantly negative.

Both race groups give more cross-race choices if they have older sisters, but receive less. These relationships are based on highly uneven marginals, and as in the other three tables, and are not significant.

TABLE 4.4--Associations Between Presence of Older Sisters and Selected Indices of Socialization, for Girls With One Sibling, by Race: Northern Schools.

		Negro Girls			White Girls		
		Status			Status		
Index	Older Sister	One or More	None	Total	One or More	None	Total
Total Sociometric Status	Yes	22	4	26	63	43	106
	No	45	29	74	136	81	217
Total		67	33	100	199	124	323
		Ø=.22*,Ø/Ømax=.26 Ømax=.84, Q=.56			Ø=-.03,Ø/Ømax=-.03 Ømax=.89, Q=-.07		
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	Yes	6	20	26	9	97	106
	No	5	69	74	21	196	217
Total		11	89	100	30	293	323
		Ø=.23*,Ø/Ømax=.39 Ømax=.59, Q=.61			Ø=-.02,Ø/Ømax=-.09 Ømax=.22, Q=-.07		
Cross-Sex Choices Made	Yes	5	21	26	5	101	106
	No	6	68	74	18	199	217
Total		11	89	100	23	300	323
		Ø=.16,Ø/Ømax=.27 Ømax=.59, Q=.46			Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-.31 Ømax=.20, Q=-.29		
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	Yes	1	25	26	1	105	106
	No	0	74	74	1	216	217
Total		1	99	100	2	321	323
		Ø=.17,Ø/Ømax=1.00 Ømax=.17, Q=+1.00			Ø=.03,Ø/Ømax=.23 Ømax=.13, Q=.35		
Cross-Race Choices Made	Yes	0	26	26	0	106	106
	No	1	73	74	2	215	217
Total		1	99	100	2	321	323
		Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=.06, Q=-1.00			Ø=-.06,Ø/Ømax=-1.00 Ømax=.06, Q=-1.00		
Number of Choices Reciprocated	Yes	14	12	26	45	61	106
	No	29	45	74	83	134	217
Total		43	57	100	128	195	323
		Ø=.13,Ø/Ømax=.19 Ømax=.68, Q=.29			Ø=.04,Ø/Ømax=.05 Ømax=.86, Q=.09		

Both race groups benefit from an older sister in terms of number of choices reciprocated. This relationship is strongest for the Negro group. As with cross-sex roles, Negroes benefit most from having an older same-sex sibling. In Table 4.1, it was shown that Negro boys benefit more from an older brother more than white boys. Here, Negro girls are shown to benefit more from an older sister more than white girls.

Hence, it can be concluded that older siblings are more predictive of sociometric "success" for Negroes than for whites. It must be remembered, however, that few phi's were significant, and that the data pertain only to families containing two children. The data do suggest a differential impact of cross-sex and same-sex siblings on socialization for Negro and white youth, which is a previously unobserved phenomenon, and which seems consistent with the theoretical statement developed in Chapters II and III. This result is also consistent with the predictions made in the first section of this chapter, and is in contradiction to the view taken by sibling rivalry theory. According to rivalry theory, Negro boys should suffer more than any other group from the presence of older brothers. But the data in Table 4.1 shows that they benefited more than any other group. Hence, the theory developed here is supported by the data, and the sibling rivalry theory is counter-indicated by the data presented.

A generalized picture of the status of siblings as perceived by students in the sample can be obtained from the question on the student's three most admired and respected people. We have seen in Chapter III that Negroes of both sexes rate females higher in answer to this question for parents and for other relatives. This has been shown to reflect the higher status of females in the Negro group. In coding responses to this question, it was not possible to determine the order of the siblings answered for. Certainly older siblings are more apt to attain this admiration and respect than younger siblings. The percentages for this data, in Table 4.5, are lower than for parents and other referents. The absolute magnitudes of the percentages underestimate the importance of siblings, as many students have only younger siblings or none at all.

White boys show more admiration and respect for their brothers and less for their sisters than Negro boys. White girls show a weak same-sex preference, though there is no difference for the Negro girl total percentages.

Before turning directly to the social structure of the American high school, the topic of Chapter V and VI, we will examine in some detail a very special kind of interaction that is highly related to our theoretical development though it does not involve a proposition about direct role socialization. In this section, it was stated that an older brother's same-sex peer interaction is neither role

TABLE 4.5--Percentages of Students Choosing Brothers and Sisters as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

		North Negro		North Mixed		North White		All Schools	
Race Sex	Sibling	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys	Brother	4	(907)	6	(560)	5	(39)	4	(1229)
	Sister	6		4		3		5	
White Boys	Brother	0	(4)	8	(462)	9	(1075)	9	(1541)
	Sister	0		3		3		3	
Negro Girls	Brother	7	(560)	5	(445)	23	(53)	6	(1058)
	Sister	4		8		0		6	
White Girls	Brother	11	(9)	5	(499)	5	(1518)	5	(1518)
	Sister	22		6		6		6	

socialization nor a role model for the girl. But this interaction was stated to be of importance for high school girls, in their relations to boys. This phenomenon will be the topic of the next section.

Friendship and Sex Roles in Cross-Sex Peer Interaction

High school boys are under great pressure from their male peers to establish interactions with girls. It will be shown in the next chapter that a lot of this pressure is "compulsive masculinity." The adolescent boy is expected to establish pre-marital dyadic relationships with girls in his own age grade. This heterosexual behavior is regarded as a normal and integral part of social development. It is behavior, however, for which an adolescent boy in this society is not well prepared, due to inadequate sex role socialization in the family. Girls, being more advantaged in their sex role socialization, are relatively more mature in this respect. This differential socialization of boys and girls results in boys tending to interact with and date and even marry girls that are younger.

Apart from the lack of sociological preparation for this kind of cross-sex interaction, the adolescent boy faces another difficulty. In his leap to pre-marital dyadic interaction, he may ". . . encounter various kinds of resistence and control from parents, other authorities, and the peer group."[25] To prevent dyadic withdrawal from the peer group collectivity, a highly complex and specific set of norms invariably governs cross-sex dyads. This social control is geared to eliminate the social effects of the dyad's psychological characteristics. On this, Slater writes:

> The partners are expected to spend the bulk of their time in group activities and to have a relationship of short duration (often measured in weeks). Such institutionalization of the "going steady" relationship is clearly a far more effective instrument against libidinal contraction than adult opposition.[26]

The "rating and dating complex" is one such mechanism of peer group control: the most desirable partners are those who conform to group norms; sexual strivings are subordinated to status and prestige needs.[27]

An emphasis on sexual exploitation in cross-sex dyads is yet another mechanism of peer group control. The boy's status varies directly with the extent to which he "makes out" on a casual (non committing) basis. The girl, on the other hand, enhances her status in the peer group by being taken places, having money spent on her, and so forth.[28]

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[25] See Slater, "On Social Regression," op. cit., p. 351.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," American Sociological Review, 2 (1937), pp. 727-734.

[28] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 50-57; pp. 118-124.

As Slater and others emphasize, the strength of these control mechanisms vary directly with the strength of the peer group.

Hence, we see that a lack of social preparation, in conjunction with psychological injunctions, make the establishment of cross-sex dyadic relations difficult for the adolescent boy. Given such a problem, we can expect a systematic attempt to solve it. The social process involved in the solution of this problem is akin to what Merton has called "ritualism," according to which the means of attaining a goal (status, through dating) is accepted, while the activity can be performed with a minimal psychological committment to the role relationship involved.[29] It is well known that competitive interaction (such as dating) produces an acute status anxiety.[30] This status anxiety is relieved by choosing to interact with girls that have some basis for not demanding a purely boy-girl relationship in their cross-sex interaction. That is, these boys will seek out girls that can (sociologically) interact on an instrumental same-sex basis. They will choose girls who are capable of talking sports, cars, etc. For the boy, interacting with such a boy solves both the sociological problem of status and the psychological problem of status anxiety (sexual insecurity). By watching her older brothers interact with their male peers, she learns how boys interact with each other. The boys most apt to seek out girls with older brothers, as friends, on a "ritualistic" basis, will be the one most lacking in cross-sex role models; they should be the boys with no older brothers.

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[29] Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Rev. and Enlarged Ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 149-153. This type of individual adaptation is one of a typology of five modes. In "conformity," both cultural goals (here, psychological goals) and institutionalized means are accepted; in "innovation," goals are accepted, but means are rejected; in "retreatism," both goals and means are rejected; in "rebellion" both goals and means are viewed ambiguously.

[30] See Harry S. Sullivan, "Modern Conceptions of Psychiatry," Psychiatry, 3 (1940), pp. 111-112; Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York: William Morrow, 1942), Chapter VII; Merton, ibid., p. 153.

In Chapter II, five propositions from Cottrell's article were presented.[31] Proposition 5, "Adjustment to more mature roles is aided rather than handicapped by occasional regression to less demanding roles," was included to illustrate Murphy's observation that growth can at times be reversed, and the claim that ". . . this reversal can under certain conditions speed up rather than retard the socialization process."[32] An example was provided in the next sentence. It is clear that this proposition is akin to what Merton calls an attempt at reeucing "status anxiety" in the high school setting.

Given this orientation, we can now anticipate that boys without older brothers will be drawn to girls with older brothers on a friendship basis, on a basis of "ritualistic" conformity to the social demands of the adolescent society. That is, it can be predicted that girls with older brothers have the ability to interact with slowly maturing boys as "one of the boys."

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[31] Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), pp. 617-620.

[32] Gardner Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 67.

In the above statement, care has been made to specify that boys without older brothers will choose girls with older brothers on a friendship basis. This is ritualism, and fits Cottrell's Fifth Proposition. At the same time, we can also expect that the most precocious boys would interact with the most precocious girls on a cross-sex dating basis. That is, since the presence of older brothers facilitates the learning of cross-sex role behavior, we can expect that boys with older brothers will choose girls with older brothers as friends on a dating basis. Similarly, we can expect that boys without older brothers will be less apt to choose girls with older brothers on the dating basis.

The reasoning behind these claims merits a more elaborate statement. From the theory on role socialization developed to this point, we know that the presence of older brothers facilitates peer interaction socialization, and in particular facilitates the development of cross-sex role behavior. On the other hand, the absence of a peer interaction role model (an older brother) will "retard" socialization and the development of cross-sex role behavior.

In the high school, boy will not date girls that are a lot more precocious than they are: Boys often date younger girls, but the reverse is not true. Hence, we can expect that (a) non-precocious boys will not choose precocious girls, and (b) precocious boys will choose precocious girls. Since the presence of older brothers faciliated the development of "precocity," we deduce that hypothesis that boys without older brothers will not choose girls with older brothers, and visa versa.

First, we need to demonstrate that the presence of older brothers produces cross-sex choices made for boys, and produces cross-sex choices received for girls. Data on this is presented in Table 4.6, for North White and North Negro High School racial majorities. It was necessary to restrict the analysis to these two largest groups, as many breakdowns are required, which reduces the sample sizes.

TABLE 4.6--Frequency With Which Boys Choose Girls, by Presence or Absence of Older Brothers for Both Boys and Girls: North Negro High Negroes and North White High Whites.

	North Negro				North White		
	Negro Girls Chosen				White Girls Chosen		
Negro Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total	White Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total
Older Bros.	19	15	34	Older Bros.	18	16	34
No Older Bros.	13	15	28	No Older Bros.	16	42	48
Total	42	30	62	Total	24	58	82
	Ø=.08, Ø/Ømax=.13 Ømax=.60 Q=.19				Ø=.44*,Ø/Ømax=.56 Ømax=.79 Q=.77		

For the North Negro High School Negro Boys, 55% of those making cross-sex choices with older brothers chose girls, while only 45% of those without older brothers chose girls. For the North White High School White Boys, the effects of having an older brother are stronger. Of the boys that made cross-sex choices, 40% had older brothers, and 60% did not. Hence, a higher proportion of Negro boys that have older brothers choose girls. This is consistent with the data in Table 4.1, in which it was found that the presence of older brothers is more predictive of same-sex and cross-sex sociometric status for Negroes than for whites.

The correlations were positve as predicted. Boys with older brothers will choose girls with older brothers, for both race groups. These data per se, however, are inconclusive. We have not yet determined the basis for choices. It is possible to manipulate the data to obtain information on the basis of boy-girl choices, however.

First of all, we need to examine boys that choose on a "real," or non-ritualistic basis. One index of this is to control for whether or not the choosing boys go steady. We can then make the convenient assumption that boys that make cross-sex choices and go steady are choosing the girls with which they go steady on a non-ritualistic cross-sex role basis. For the boys that go steady, the associations found in Table 4.6 should increase. Data are presented in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7--Frequency With Which Boys that Go Steady Choose Girls, by Presence or Absence of Older Brothers for Both Boys and Girls: North Negro High Negroes and North White High Whites.

	North Negro				North White		
	Girls Choosen				Girls Choosen		
Negro Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total	White Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total
Older Bros.	9	6	15	Older Bros.	12	6	18
No Older Bros.	9	10	19	No Older Bros.	5	22	27
Total	18	16	34	Total	17	28	45
	Ø=.11,Ø/Ømax=.12 Ømax=.94, Q=.27				Ø=.50**, Ø/Ømax=.58 Ømax=.96, Q=.90		

For both Negro and white boys, the partial correlations with going steady held constant are higher than the values obtained in Table 4.6. This contributes additional evidence that precocious boys will seek out precocious girls on a cross-sex role basis.

To test Cottrell's proposition, we need to establish a criterion for determining which choices are made on a non-sexual "friendship" basis. An index of this is readily available. Boys that responded that they "Never" date can be thought of as being in this type of role relationship with the girls they choose. Cottrell's Proposition 5 then leads to the prediction that the relationship between older brothers of choosing boys and chosen girls should not only be reduced, but made negative. For it has been stated that "The boys most apt to seek out girls with older brothers, as friends, on a 'ritualistic' basis, will be the ones most lacking in cross-sex role models they should be the boys with no older brothers." Data are presented in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8--Frequency With Which Boys that Never Date Girls, by Presence or Absence of Older Brothers for Both Boys and Girls: North Negro High Negroes and North White High Whites.

	North Negro				North White		
	Girls Chosen				Girls Chosen		
Negro Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total	White Boys Choosing	Older Bros.	No Older Bros.	Total
Older Bros.	0	4	4	Older Bros.	1	4	5
No Older Bros.	2	7	9	No Older Bros.	2	1	3
Total	2	11	13	Total	3	5	8
	Ø=-.29, Ø/Ømax= -1.00 Ø/Ømax= -.29, Q= -1.00				Ø=-.47,Ø/Ømax= -.47 Ømax= -1.00, Q=-.60		

Some support is given to the conceptualization by the above data. The correlations, as predicted, are negative. The number of students that do not date but choose girls are few, however, and the relationships are not significant. Most of these non-dating boys chose girls without older brothers, which does not directly support Cottrell's proposition. Only two from each race chose girls with older brothers. Three of the four themselves, however, had no older brothers. These boys that never date and have no older brothers should be the most "retarded" group, more so than the boys that never date but do have older brothers. This does lend some support to the hypothesis. In both schools, a higher proportion of the boys without older brothers than with older brothers choose girls with older brothers: For North Negro, the values are 2/9 as compared to 0/4; for North White, the values are 2/3 as compared to 1/5. This gives high negative correlations. This finding is consistent with Cottrell, though it is based on crude indices and a small case-base.

CHAPTER V

PARENTS AND PEERS

Parental Control and Peer Control

It is well known that family background characteristics exert a strong influence on the high school student's educational and occupational plans and aspirations.[1] Age peers in the high school are also an important source of socialization. It can be generalized that peers become an increasingly important source of role socialization relative to parents as the child ages. On this Parsons writes:

> The family offers a wide enough range of role participation only for the young child. He must learn, by actual participation, progressively more roles than his family of orientation can offer him. It is at this point that the peer group and the school assume paramount importance.[2]

Research by Coleman and others on the "adolescent society" has recently focused the attention of sociologists on the teen-age peer group. Coleman writes:

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[1] For a review of this research, see Robert H. Beezer and Howard F. Hjelm, Factors Related to College Attendance, Cooperative Research Monograph No. 8, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

[2] Talcott Parsons, Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 38.

> . . . in a rapidly changing, highly rationalized society the "natural processes" of education in the family are no longer adequate. They have been replaced by a more formalized institution that is set apart from the rest of society and that covers an even longer span of time.[3]

As Epperson has pointed out, the relative importance of the peer group and the family has been shown by recent evidence to depend on the activities involved, e.g., ". . . adolescents tend to be peer-conforming in making certain kinds of choice and parent-conforming in other kinds of choice."[4]

Epperson's appraisal of Coleman's data suggest that qualifications should be made regarding the autonomy of an "adolescent society." First of all, Coleman based part of his statement on a question on which the student feels would be "hardest to take": (1) parent's disapproval, (2) teacher's disapproval, or (3) breaking with a friend. As Epperson points out, disapproval is not as drastic as breaking. In this sense, the questions are not equivalent. To correct this methodological difficulty, Epperson reconstructed the question to read: "'Which one of these things would made you the most unhappy?' (a) If my parents did not like what I did, (b) If my (favorite) teacher did not like what I did, (c) If my best friend did not like what I did."[5] using this revised question, Epperson found that ". . . the teenage group is in some respects no more estranged from adults than the pre-teenage group and that standards in the family may _not_ have been replaced by peer group standards in the high school context to the degree that Coleman implied."[6] The data justifying this conclusion (for secondary schools only) are presented in Table 5.1.

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[3] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 4.

[4] David C. Epperson, "A Re-Assessment of Indices of Parental Influence in The Adolescent Society," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), p. 93. The quotation refers to Clay V. Britton, "Adolescent Choices and Parent-Peer Cross Pressures," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 385-391. Also see Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of the Adolescent Peer Culture," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), pp. 680-684.

This question, though not entirely content-free, has a generalized meaning. The data shows a general predisposition to respond to parental wishes, especially in new and indeterminant situations.[7] This is, of course, particularly evident in Epperson's data. Epperson's question was included in the questionnaire used here. Data for all schools are presented in Table 5.2.

The data in Table 5.2 certainly lend support to Epperson. In the Northern schools, every race sex group in every school gives a higher percentage of their responses that was found by _either_ Coleman or Epperson. In the

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[5] Epperson, _op. cit_., p. 94.

[6] _Ibid_.

[7] _Ibid_., pp. 94-95.

TABLE 5.1--Relative Concern Over Evaluation by Parents, Teachers, and Peers: Epperson Data Contrasted with Coleman Data.[a]

Referent	Boys		Girls	
	Epperson[b]	Coleman[c]	Epperson	Coleman
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Parent	80.4	53.8	80.5	52.9
Teacher	3.6	3.5	1.2	2.7
Best Friend	15.8	42.7	18.1	43.4
Total Per Cent	99.8	100.0	99.8	100.0
Total Number	(82)	(3,621)	(77)	(3,894)

[a] Source: David C. Epperson, "A Re-Assessment of Indices of Parental Influence in the Adolescent Society," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), p. 93; James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 94.

[b] This sample, drawn from a comprehensive high school of 2,200 in a medium size city (pop. 60,000) is approximately 50% 10th graders, 42% 11th graders, and 8% 12th graders.

[c] This sample includes students from all ten of Coleman's schools, representing small-town, rural, city, and suburban high schools with enrollments ranging from 150 to 1950.

TABLE 5.2--Relative Concern Over Evaluation by Parents, Teachers, and Peers by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Referent	South Negro High School		South White High School		North Negro High School			
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Parents	57.9	74.3	73.6	75.1	88.0	100.0	93.3	83.3
Teacher	21.0	9.6	6.5	7.1	3.0	.0	3.1	.0
Best Friend	21.0	16.1	19.9	17.8	8.2	.0	3.6	16.7
Total Per Cent	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	(158)	(218)	(587)	(602)	(491)	(8)	(718)	(6)

Referent	North Mixed High School				North White High School			
	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Parents	87.9	89.1	93.9	88.5	88.7	84.6	94.4	87.2
Teacher	5.1	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.7	3.7	1.4
Best Friend	7.0	8.4	3.6	9.0	9.1	12.7	1.9	11.4
Total Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	(314)	(441)	(360)	(399)	(74)	(1075)	(54)	(1192)

Southern schools, the percentages for teachers are higher than Epperson's values, but much closer to those than to Coleman's.

The responses for teachers are small in Epperson, in Coleman, and in Table 5.2. There are regional differences. Teachers are mentioned most often in the South, with the highest values at South Negro High School.

Friends are responded to at rates similar to those found in Epperson for the Southern schools. In the North, they are referred to infrequently.

Few consistent sex differences are found, although there is a general tendency for girls to name parents more frequently than boys, especially within the Negro group.

Gottlieb and Ramsey have pointed out that ". . . youth shifts, over time, from social control by adults to a growing influence by peers, and then, once again, to a concern with the attitudes, values and expectations of the adult world."[8] This statement is undoubtedly true. But it is not the entire story. Though adult influence is maximal in the early years of social development and in the adult age grades, there is a difference in that adults are not peers for the elementary or high school student, but adults are peers to adults. Thus adult control and peer control are

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[8] David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 184.

not alternative results, but joint outcomes of the socialization process. The learning of peer interaction in the high school is not merely a temporary withdrawal from control by adults, and especially parents, as some writers have contended. Instead, it is anticipatory role socialization for control by (and of) adults that will concomitantly be peers.

We have seen that parents remain powerful referents relative to peers in the high school. In the following pages it will be shown, first of all, that parental control of adolescents decreases as age increases, and secondly, that the importance of peers relative to parents increases over increasing age.

In Table 5.3 we will examine the relationships between the numbers of parents that control selected activities in the Sophomore and Senior years of high school Yule's Q will be used as an index. Positive correlations represent a decrease in parental control of the selected activities.

The correlations in Table 5.3 are in general positive. As predicted, there is a decrease in parental control as the students progress from the Sophomore to the Senior year. This is true even for "Time spent on homework," which is instrumental to a future goal.

Another set of data can be used to compare the orientations of students to peers and to parents. Data have been presented on parents, other relatives, and siblings as one of three "most admired and respected people." Answers to

TABLE 5.3--Yule's Q Associations Between Parental Rules for Selected Activities and Grade (Sophomore and Senior), by Race and Sex: All Schools.[a]

Parental Rules	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
	Q	(N)	Q	(N)	Q	(N)	Q	(N)
Dating	.63	(1118)	-.02	(1365)	.06	(878)	.21	(1316)
Going Steady	.26	(1106)	.07	(1365)	.27	(874)	.17	(1316)
Eat at Home	.17	(1103)	-.14	(1365)	.17	(869)	.15	(1316)
Homework	.16	(1079)	.36	(1365)	.04	(898)	.28	(1316)
Any Rules	.40	(1467)	.34	(1467)	.16	(818)	.22	(1316)

[a]Note: The 4 Qs smaller than .10 are not significant (chi-square); the other Qs are significant at the .01 level.

female and male peers were also recorded. These answers were not broken down by race. First, we will present and briefly discuss responses to female and male peers, in Table 5.4. Then, in Table 5.5, the ratios of responses to mother and father over peers will be presented.

As shown in Table 5.4, there is a pronounced tendency for students of each race sex group to choose friends of the same sex as their most admired and respected people.

The racial composition of the school has an influence on choices. The Negro boy group showed most admiration and respect of their peers at North White High, where they are a minority, and least at North Negro High, where they are a numerical majority. Negro girls showed essentially the same distribution of choices at all three Northern schools, though their regard for peers was slightly higher at North Mixed High School. The white minority at North Negro High showed little admiration and respect for their peers. Only one of their 15 choices went to a peer. One of their choices went to a white teacher, and the rest were in-family choices. Both white boys and white girls gave most choices to peers at North Mixed High School.

Every race sex group showed a same-sex preference in their responses. This was most pronounced for white boys and white girls, as opposed to Negro boys and white boys, respectively.

TABLE 5.4--Percentages of Students Choosing Male and Female Peers as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern schools.

Race Sex	Peers	North Negro		North Mixed		North White		All Schools	
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys	Male	19	(560)	26	(283)	26	(39)	22	(882)
	Female	9		17		23		12	
White Boys	Male	0	(4)	34	(462)	36	(1075)	35	(1541)
	Female	0		11		10		10	
Negro Girls	Male	16	(907)	19	(445)	17	(53)	17	(1405)
	Female	21		27		23		23	
White Girls	Male	0	(9)	22	(499)	21	(1518)	21	(2026)
	Female	11		31		26		28	

In Table 5.5, we present the ratios of choices going to mothers and fathers over the choices going to male and female peers.

TABLE 5.5--Ratios of Choices Given to Mother and Father as Opposed to Male and Female Peers as Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race/Sex	North Negro	North Mixed	North White	All Schools
Negro Boys	1.68	1.42	1.51	1.55
White Boys	*	1.11	.67	.82
Negro Girls	1.30	1.26	1.92	1.30
White Girls	4.00	.87	1.26	1.13

The values of the ratios are in general greater than one, indicating that students show more admiration and respect for their parents than for their siblings. This outcome is consistent with the data presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Since the orientation of adolescents should change from parents to peers as the socialization process progresses, a low parent-peer ratio should be an index of socialization. The most socialized groups should have the lowest indices. The values for all schools show this. Within each race group, except at North White, girls have lower ratios than boys, which follows from the view that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys. Within sex group, except at North Negro, whites have lower ratios than do Negroes, which is consistent with the predicted Negro-white differences.

A more direct way to view a shift from parent orientation to peer orientation is to compare the numbers of students in the Sophomore and Senior years of high school that respond to parents and to peers as one of three most admired and respected people. As grade increases, the propensity to name parents should decrease, and the propensity to name peers should increase. Data testing this hypothesis for each race sex group, for all Northern schools combined, are presented in Table 5.6. It is predicted that peer orientation and grade will be positively correlated. Further, the correlations should be highest for the groups that are socialized most rapidly. Within each sex group, Negroes should have lower correlations than whites; within each race group, boys should have lower correlations than girls.

As expected, all four associations are positive, indicating that peers gain in admiration and respect relative to parents over increasing age.

Within each sex group, again as predicted, the white race has higher phi coefficients than the Negro race. Both phi coefficients are significant for the white boys and girls, but neither are for the Negro boys and girls.

It was also anticipated that within each race group, the coefficients would be higher for girls than for boys. This result was not obtained, however. For both Negro and white groups, girls had lower phi values than boys. These negative results, though not significant, do weaken the theoretical view.

TABLE 5.6--Associations Between Responding to Peers as Opposed to Parents as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People and Grade (Sophomore and Senior), by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

	Negro Boys			White Boys		
Referent	Sophomore	Senior	Total	Sophomore	Senior	Total
Parents	185	117	302	223	193	416
Peers	100	85	185	233	347	580
Total	285	202	487	456	540	996
	Ø=.07,Ø/Ømax=.08 Ømax=.93, Q=.15			Ø=.13**,Ø/Ømax=.14 Ømax=.92, Q=.26		

	Negro Girls			White Girls		
Referent	Sophomore	Senior	Total	Sophomore	Senior	Total
Parents	299	171	470	444	294	738
Peers	190	134	324	204	178	382
Total	489	305	794	648	472	1120
	Ø=.05,Ø/Ømax=.15 Ømax=.95, Q=.11			Ø=.07*, Ø/Ømax=.08 Ømax=.84 Q=.14		

Parental Sex Role Socialization and Peer Interaction

In Chapter III, it was pointed out that the parents are limited in their value as peer interacton role models. It was also suggested that siblings and peers are equipped to socialize to sex roles in the American high school. Parents _are_ of some importance, however, as will be shown in this section.

Dunphy has pointed out that a major difference between pre-adolescent and adolescent groups is that "Pre-adolescent groups are almost universally uni-sexual in composition, with play centering around sex-categorized activities and role models."[9] It is in this group structure that the growing child learns his or her basic sex role, by same-sex peer activity. By the onset of adolescence, heterosexual choices have increased as the choice of preferred association. On this, Dunphy writes: ". . . during adolescence most persons achieve membership in a heterosexual group and acquire an heterosexual role."[10] These heterosexual, or cross-sex, roles will be examined in this section, in terms of identification with the same-sex parent.

There is considerable evidence that the high school student in a modern industrial society has great difficulty adjusting to cross-sex roles. Reuter, and many others, have emphasized that "storm and stress" is not characteristic of adolescence in all societies.[11] For boys in the American high school, there is a continuous effort to establish masculine potency--to attain an instrumental role. This has been mentioned in Chapter III. An index of this "complusive masculinity" is the great status associated with physical prowress and athletic skills within the American adolescent community, and the careful avoidance of manifesting cross-sex personality traits.

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[9] Dexter C. Dunphy, "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups," Sociometry, 26 (1963), p. 230. Also see David P. Ausubel, Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development (New York: Grune and Stratten, 1954).

[10] Dunphy, ibid. Also see August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949), and Luella Cole, Psychology of Adolescence (New York: Rinehart, 1948).

[11] E. B. Reuter, "The Sociology of Adolescence," American Journal of Sociology, 43 (1953), pp. 414-427. For related research, see: Herbert Block and Arthur Niederhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior (New York: Philosophical

We have seen that the establishment of cross-sex roles is easier for girls than for boys, especially among Negro adolescents. An obvious manifestation of this is the fact that girls tend to date older sib boys, whereas boys are far less apt to date older girls. The rapid rate of developing cross-sex role behavior for girls relative to the rate of boys is in part due to the presence of an adequate same-sex role model in the home--the mother. Davis, in citing Tyron's research, points out that ". . . the earlier physical and social maturation of adolescent girls leads to rather serious adjustment problems for the boys of the same age grade."[12]

Library, 1958), p. 7; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963); Norman Kiell, The Universal Experience of Adolescence (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1964), pp. 11-20, et passum.

[12] Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, 6 (1941), p. 351.

Hence, the American adolescent is uneasy about his or her sex role socialization. The adult community shares this uneasiness, especially about boys. At the same time, it is also true that parents are typically more concerned with the sexual activities of their daughters than their sons. The preceeding two statements appear to be contradictory, but they are not. Parents are concerned about the sex role development of boys because they develop slowly. Parents are concerned about the sex role development of girls for the opposite reason--because they develop rapidly. There are rewards for sexual activity for boys, and negative sanctions for girls. Coleman has pointed out that sexual activity on the part of adolescent girls leads to a loss of status in the high school community, but to increased status for adolescent boys.[13]

In summary, parents, and other adults, are concerned about adolescent girls precisely because they are precocious relative to boys in their sex role development. The concern about girls is that they mature faster than boys; the concern about boys is that they do not mature and gain the rewards that accrue to those who date, who participate, who are able to conquer girls, and who are generally masculine and instrumental.

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[13] Coleman, op. cit.

In view of the difficulty the American male adolescent has in establishing cross-sex interaction, and more generally, an instrumental role, it is not surprising that community rewards accrue to those teachers in the high school that provide the most masculine role models for adolescent boys. For example, the head football coach is often the highest paid member of the high school faculty. The school, as well as the community, encourages early cross-sex interaction. Gottlieb and Ramsey write:

> Being without a date for the Friday evening football game, the class dance, the school play, homecoming events, the Coronation Ball, and so forth lessens the prestige of the student and gives him a feeling of isolation from the mainstream of school activities.[14]

With these observations in mind, we can now turn to our high school data for an empirical analysis of the effects of same-sex parents on cross-sex behavior, and for some general considerations of the effects of parents on peers.

The limitations of fathers and mothers as peer interaction role models were evident in analysis of data for adjustment to the peer group. In Chapter IV, it was shown that the presence of an older sibling was predictive of sociometric status and choosing (Tables 4.1--4.4). Older siblings were most predictive of status in the Negro group, which has the most inadequate sex role socialization from parents, and the fewest socializing referents outside of the home.

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[14] Gottlieb and Ramsey, op. cit., p. 170.

Certain family background characteristics were run against these sociometric variables. Father's occupational level, father's educational level, and the quality orientation of the father's occupation were found to be relatively independent of sociometric measures of socialization. Only five of the seventy-two correlations (for four race-sex groups, three background measures, and six sociometric indices) were significantly positive. For Negro boys, there was a significant association between father's quality orientation and cross-race sociometric status. For white boys, father's occupation and cross-race choices made were positively related. For white girls, father's occupation was correlated with number of choices reciprocated and with total sociometric status, and father's education correlated with cross-race choices made. A great number of these associations were close to chance expectancy.

The six sociometric variables were also related to conjugal role reversal. Here, conjugal role reversal is defined in terms of the occupational roles of the students' parents. Since the occupational roles of parents are a major boundary linkage between family and society, the allocation of these roles is fundamental to the expressive-instrumental dimension of parental roles. Only students living with both parents are included. If the father is in the labor force and is working, and if the mother does not work, the occupational roles are defined as "normal" or "non reversed." If, however, the father is "laid off," is not working but looking for work, is not working and not looking for work, is disabled, or is retired, and if the mother is working, the conjugal roles are defined as "reversed." From the theoretical discussion and secondary evidence presented in Chapter III, the Negro students should have a higher incidence of conjugal role reversal than white students. Data on conjugal role reversal are presented in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7--Percentages of Students Having Parents With Conjugal Roles Reversed, by Race: Northern Schools.

Race	Per Cent	Number
Negro	7.0	(880)
White	3.4	(1798)
Total	4.5	(2678)

$z = 4.01$, $p < .001$.

The Negro students are approximately twice as apt to have their parents' occupational roles reversed, though the proportions are low for both groups.

Conjugal role reversal was weakly correlated with cross-sex choices made and received, and for choices reciprocated. Though reversal in general depressed status, none of the twenty-four phi coefficients were significantly negative.

The measure most comparable to the data presented in Chapter IV for siblings is the presence or absence of a parent. Very few families in the sample were motherless. Fatherless families occurred with enough frequency to use father's presence as an independent variable. As expected from the theoretical discussion of Chapter III, girls benefit little from having a father in the home, in terms of sociometric indices of peer socialization. Relationships were weak for both race groups. Within the male group, Negro boys can be expected to benefit less from having a father, while at the same time they are in greater need of a father. Hence, it is difficult to predict which race of boys will have the highest correlations between presence of a father and sociometric adjustment.

Phi coefficients relating the presence or absence of a father and the presence or absence of a mother to sociometric indices of role socialization are presented in Table 5.8.

A major portion of the coefficients are small and non-significant. Stronger associations were discerned for siblings and sociometric indices than for parents, with the exception that girls benefit more from having a father than from having an older brother, though this result is not strong, and the correlations are small for *both* referents. The data support the idea developed near the end of Chapter III--that parents and siblings are *complimentary* socializers,

TABLE 5.8--Phi Coefficients Between Presence of Father and Mother and Selected Indices of Socialization, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Presence of Parent/ Index	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Presence of Father				
Total Sociometric Status	.08**	.01	.06*	.04*
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	-.01	.02	.06*	-.01
Cross-Sex Choices Made	.02	.03	-.04	-.01
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	.02	-.04*	-.08*	-.07**
Cross-Race Choices Made	.02	-.01	.01	-.02
Number of Choices Reciprocated	.10**	.03	.13**	.18**
Total Number	(988)	(1625)	(1116)	(1573)
Presence of Mother				
Total Sociometric Status	.11**	.01	.02	.01
Cross-Sex Sociometric Status	.01	-.03	-.04	.00
Cross-Sex Choices Made	.03	.01	.01	.02
Cross-Race Sociometric Status	.00	.01	-.05*	.02
Cross-Race Choices Made	.03	.01	.02	-.05*
Number of Choices Reciprocated	-.02	.03	.02	.04
Total Number	(740)	(1478)	(819)	(1414)

with parents socializing by intentional instruction and siblings, as role models, by incidental learning. It should be kept in mind, however, that only two-sib families were considered. Neither siblings nor parents adequately account much variance in the sociometric indices. A further point is that parental sex role socialization did enable us to make predictions about the differential impact of siblings on race sex groups.

Parents, Peers, and College Plans

Socio-economic family background variables, and even the presence of the mother and the father in the home, have been shown to have a minimal effect on peer interaction in the high school. This was anticipated on the grounds that parents, and siblings and peers, are complimentary role socializers. The dichotomy is, of course, not complete. Both parents and peers have some influence on sociometric status. Similarly, both parents and peers are predictive of attaining adult roles, e.g., in the post-high school educational plans of students.

McDill and Coleman, in a recent report, have shown that peers are an important source of variation in educational aspirations relative to parents, and that the importance of peers increases with increasing age. They summarize their findings as follows:

> The results of this investigation seriously challenge the generally accepted position that the socio-economic background of the child is a more important

> source of variation in his educational aspirations than are peer group influences. Using students from a limited number of high schools, it has been shown that by the end of the senior year in high school, the prestige of the adolescents in the school social system contributes more to variation in their stated college plans than does their father's or mother's education. Even more importantly, the data reveal that their high school status assumes an importance, by the end of the senior year, only slightly lower than the desire of their parents in the freshman year.[15]

Interesting sex differences were also found. As girls are socialized more rapidly than boys, it can be expected that peers gain in importance (as a predictor of college plans) for both sexes, but for girls more than for boys.[16] This result was obtained, as McDill and Coleman found that ". . . for girls, the increase in the influence of status in school occurs concomitantly with a decrease in the influence of family background; for boys, the increase in the effect of status is accompanied by a very slight increase in the influence of family background."[17] At the same time, they found that the social system of the high school has more impact on the college plans of boys than of girls. This is explained by the greater importance of college to the futures of males,[18] which is postulated to create a greater emphasis on college attendance on boys' high status cliques during high school.[19]

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[15] Edward L. McDill and James Coleman, "Family and Peer Influence in College Plans of High School Students," Sociology of Education, 38 (1965), p. 125.

[16] McDill and Coleman found the increase in the effect of status in school ". . . to be contrary to expectations." Ibid., p. 124 ff. This increase can be expected on the basis of theoretical statements made in this chapter and this text, however.

[17] Ibid., p. 119.

This report by McDill and Coleman indicated that peers are important socializers not only for learning age and sex roles, but for attaining educational (and undoubtedly occupational) goals in the post-high school environment.

The topic of parents, peers, and educational plans and aspirations will be taken up again in Chapters IX and X. In the intervening chapters, socialization by peers will be presented, and the social system of the high schools will be examined.

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[18] Byron S. Hollingshead, Who Should Go to College (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 33, cited ibid., p. 119 ff.

[19] Edward L. McDill and James Coleman. "High School Social Status, College Plans, and Academic Achievement: A Panel Analysis," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 917.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIALIZATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOL: PEERS AS SOCIALIZERS

Socialization and the Development of Group Structure

In Chapter V, it was postulated that a change from adult control to control by adults perceived as peers is a fundamental process in role socialization. In fact, this process can even be regarded as one definition of the socialization process. Such a definition is obvious, but not trivial. Within both racial groups, girls become peer oriented more rapidly than boys. Given this definition, we can equivalently say that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys.

In this chapter, we will examine criteria of socialization as manifested in group structures. From the General Systems approach developed in Chapter II, the thesis emerged that, as children are socialized, their group structure will become integrated, i.e., previously differentiated functions become an organized co-ordinate unity. In terms of interpersonal role systems, the growth of personality is viewed, after Murphy, as the progressive attainment of differentiated, and then integrated, interpersonal role relations.[1]

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[1] Gardner Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure (New York: Harpers, 1947).

The group structures of adolescents will be examined in a theoretical context extended from the theory developed in Chapters II, III, and IV. Along with the theory, we will look at secondary data and at data generated from the sociometric groups of the three Northern high schools. (It was not possible to collect sociometric data from the two Southern schools.)

Sociometric analysis was invented by Moreno, who defines it as ". . . a method for discovering, describing, and evaluating social status, structure, and development through measuring the extent of acceptance or rejection between individuals in groups."[2] Moreno wrote that the evolution of societies follows a process of increasing differentiation of groups from simpler to more complex patterns according to a sociogenetic law.[3] Extensive study of sociometric groups of children progressing through school revealed that there is a systematic differentiation--an increase in complexity of the structure of groups, as children age.[4] Moreno's analysis of this process is isomorphic to the processes of growth found in a variety of systems in Chapter

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[2] See Urie Broffenbrenner, "A Constant Frame of Reference for Sociometric Research," Sociometry, 6 (1943), p. 364. Emphasized in text.

[3] J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, and Sociodrama (New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1953), p. 4.

II. Consequently, it is worthwhile to outline the phases of differentiation.

Moreno distinguishes children up to 7 to 9 years of age as in the Pre-Socialized Period. In this phase, groups are unstable and less differentiated than older groups. Groups ". . . in this period show a diffuse pattern which does not predispose for independent cooperative actions. Partnerships and gangs, when they develop in this pre-socialized period, are instantaneous, too inconsistent and undifferentiated to produce cooperative action or cooperative goals."[5] This stage is analogous to the global form of personality organization described by Murphy, in which there is undifferentiated mass activity, in which energy is diffused throughout the system.[6]

From the ages of 7 to 9, and up to 13 to 14, children enter the First Socialized Period. Here is the first formation of peer groups, which begin to show differentiations. These groups are largely uni-sexual, but cross-sex choices begin to appear and increase. This roughly corresponds to Murphy's differentiated stage, in which energy is concentrated in separate systems, and in which heterogeneity is a primary property.

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[5] Ibid., p. 207.

[6] Broffenbrenner, op. cit., see ff 41, Chapter II.

The Second Socialization Period begins at ages 13 to 14, and marks the onset of adolescence. At this stage, Moreno writes that ". . . finely integrated interrelations develop."[7] This, of course, corresponds to Murphy's integrated stage, where the discreet parts come to form an interlocking, interdependent system, where energy passes easily from one part to another.

From the analysis of the evolution of sociological group structures over increasing age, Moreno developed four sociogenetic laws, which constitute a group theory of evolution. He writes:

> Our survey of the development of spontaneous group organization from year to year of age among children and adolescents appears to indicate the presence of a fundamental "sociogenetic" law which may well be said to supplement the biogenetic law. Just as the higher animals have evolved from the simplest forms of life, so it seems, the higher forms of group organizations have evolved from the simple ones. . . .
> Our findings suggest the notion that group organization is in its ontogenetic development to a great extent an epitome of the form-modification which successive ancestral societies of the species underwent in the course of their historic evolution. It may be called the group theory of evolution. This hypothesis is supported by:
>
> (a) Spontaneous organization of groupings among children and adolescents develop year by year from simple to more complex stages of integration.
>
> (b) These groups reveal that a remainder of lower organizations can always be traced in the next highest stage and that indicators of a beginning towards higher organization can be traced in the next lower stage.
>
> (c) Similarities have been noted between spontaneous group organizations among classes of children in the early grades and spontaneous group organizations among mentally retarded adolescents.

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[7] Moreno, op. cit., p. 212.

(d) Similarities of tendencies in social organization are suggested between children's societies and those of primitives.[8]

Moreno's speculations are consistent with the statements in Chapter II, in which White (ff 18) and von Bertalanffy (ff 19) were cited to this effect. It was pointed out that "As human societies evolve, roles become more highly differentiated, and more complexly interrelated."

In Chapter III, a theoretical framework was presented that led to the conclusions that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys, whites more rapidly than Negroes, and that girls perform better relative to boys in the Negro group. From the above, we should be able to generalize that this formulation is extensile to social groups. The step from personality adjustment is not as great as it might appear, for personality has been defined in terms of roles, which are always reciprocal and involve interaction. Thus, as children age, their group structures should go from global organization, to differentiation, to integration. Girls' groups should become integrated at an earlier age than boys' groups, white groups at an earlier age than Negro groups, and the gap should be greater among the Negro group.

Moreno refers to mental "retardation." In Chapter I, it was emphasized that the same social forces that retard the intellectual and psychological growth of Negro youth also retard their social adjustment and growth. Here, retardation will be used in a sociological context, in terms of the peer group. Moreno defines a retarded group structure as follows: ". . . a sociometric organization resembling those which are found among children one or more years younger, for instance, showing a persistent rarity of pair formation and of many unreciprocated choices, with a large number of isolates."[9]

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[8] Ibid., pp. 214-215. Emphasis in text.

As mentioned, data from the three Northern high schools will be used to test substantive claims. Hence, it is appropriate to examine this definition in terms of each race-sex group in each school. In a sociometric group, age, sex, and race become variables rather than states. The age of a sociometric group will be its mean average age based on grade in school: 1 = Sophomore, 2 = Junior, 3 = Senior. The sex of a group is the proportion of females in a group. The race of a group is the proportion of whites in a group.

Certain difficulties can be expected in making intergroup comparisons. Firstly, the sample size is small for the North White High School Negroes, and extremely small for the North Negro High School whites. Secondly, the varying racial composition of the three schools has pronounced effects of the behavior of students in the schools. The effects of racial composition on the informal and formal social structure will be examined in the next chapter. For now, it is sufficient to state that it will be shown that the commitment of a racial group to their school varies directly with the extent to which they are a majority in their school, or have the prospect of becoming a majority. Hence, greatest comparability will be attained in comparing the North White whites and the North Negro Negroes. Even here, however, full comparability cannot be attained as the students of the Negro race in North Negro High School are a majority in their school, but a minority in the larger context of the community and the society.[10]

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[9] Ibid., p. 702.

Each student was asked the following question: "Give the full names of your three best friends." An in-sample choice of a friend will be defined as a person who is a member of the high school student body, who filled out a questionnaire, and who signed his or her name to that questionnaire. A file relating each student to a unique number was constructed. From this, the friendship choices given and received by each student were coded. A person chosen by another is classified as a member of that person's group. Hence, a person can either choose his way into a group, or be chosen into the group. A sociometric group consists of students related by both reciprocated and unreciprocated choices: That is, if A chooses B and B chooses A, A and B are said to reciprocate; if A chooses B but B does not choose A, the choice is unreciprocated. The following convention was used to prevent a sociometric group from becoming very large. "If a relatively distinct sub-group is linked to the whole group in a one-way chain of two or more unreciprocated choices, consider the sub-group a separate group." This instruction became necessary in about twenty groups in each of the three schools. This procedure is not fully "objective" in that decisions had to be made.

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[10] David Gottlieb and Warren TenHouten, "Race as a Variable in the Social Systems of Three American High Schools," Journal of Marriage and the Family, forthcoming.

There is considerable variation among the race-sex groups in the three schools in the number of friends answered for, and in the number of friends that were answered for that were also in the sample for their school. Data on this are presented in Table 6.1.

For the dominant race groups in each school, which includes all groups in North Mixed High School, the per cent of choices made in-school ranged from 32 to 40%. For the minority populations, the North Negro whites and the North White Negroes, a smaller proportion of choices was made within the sample. Yet they made more choices than their cross-race classmates. It can be concluded that the racial minorities in the two racially unbalanced schools are choosing friends outside of the school they attend. Hence we see from this datum that the friendships of a small racial minority are focused outside of their school and that social rewards for these two groups are not found in the school.

TABLE 6.1--Mean Average Number of Total Sociometric Choices, and Mean Average Number of In-Sample Sociometric Choices, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School/ Race Sex	(Number)	Mean Average Total Choices	Mean Average In-Sample Choices	Per Cent of Choices In-Sample
North Negro				
Negro Boys	(806)	2.32	.84	37.6
Negro Girls	(894)	2.60	.99	38.2
White Boys	(9)	1.78	.11	6.2
White Girls	(8)	1.75	.25	18.2
North Mixed				
Negro Boys	(425)	2.26	.74	32.6
Negro Girls	(441)	2.51	.97	38.4
White Boys	(532)	2.25	.72	34.6
White Girls	(448)	2.42	.92	37.9
North White				
Negro Boys	(53)	2.13	.40	15.9
Negro Girls	(58)	2.34	.59	25.0
White Boys	(1230)	2.12	.72	33.8
White Girls	(1289)	2.50	1.04	40.2

They are alienated from their high school, as we shall see in other contexts.

Table 6.1 also shows that, within each race in each school, girls tend to make more choices, total, than boys, and without exception make more in-sample choices than boys. To the extent that in-sample choosing indicates adjustment to school, it can be concluded that--under every racial composition--girls of each race are better adjusted socially than boys.

We can now end this necessary methodological digression, and return to the problem at hand--the empirical testing of Moreno's definition of group retardation as a tool for predicting differential sociometric structures of race-sex groups. The definition states that a retarded sociometric structure will have few reciprocations. Data on this are presented in Table 6.2.

Examination of this table permits the following statements: (1) Within each school (with the exception of North White, where there are no data for whites), girls have a higher proportion of choices reciprocated than boys. This finding persists when race is controlled for. (2) Within each school, whites reciprocate a higher proportion of choices than Negroes. It was predicted that the gap between girls and boys should be highest in the Negro populations, but this is not indicated by these data. The product moment correlations are very small, and indicate in general that

TABLE 6.2--Proportion of In-Sample Choices Made that Were Also Reciprocated, and Product Moment Correlations Between Grade and Number of Choices Reciprocated, by Race, Sex, and Grade: Northern Schools.

School Race Sex	Number	Proportion of Choices Reciprocated				Correlations of Status and Grade
		Sophomore	Junior	Senior	All	
North Negro						
Negro Boys	(800)	.29	.37	.37	.34	.07*
Negro Girls	(887)	.38	.39	.38	.38	.00
White Boys	(9)	.00	.00	.00	.00	
White Girls	(8)	.00	.00	.00	.00	
North Mixed						
Negro Boys	(414)	.32	.31	.23	.30	.00
Negro Girls	(435)	.34	.30	.43	.35	.12**
White Boys	(530)	.29	.32	.49	.35	.17**
White Girls	(445)	.49	.41	.49	.46	.02
North White						
Negro Boys	(53)	.30	.21	.50	.32	.07
Negro Girls	(58)	.40	.44	.41	.41	-.01
White Boys	(1223)	.31	.32	.35	.32	.06*
White Girls	(1285)	.37	.51	.49	.45	.11**

reciprocation increases slightly with age. All correlations significantly different from zero are in the direction indicated.

Moreno's definition of a retarded group structure also calls for a large number of isolates. An isolate is a student who is chosen by none of his classmates. It can be equivalently said that an isolate is a student with a sociometric status of zero. Considerable research effort, notably the Toronto studies, have been directed at relating sociometric status to personality attributes.[11] Northway, e.g., found that ". . . two personality patterns--although superficially characteristically opposite--are associated with low status, namely, the recessive and the aggressive."[12] Both recessive and aggressive personality traits are indicators of poor socialization. Data on the percentages of students in each race-sex group in each school who are isolates are presented in Table 6.3.

As shown in Table 6.3, the predicted effects were observed, but were weak. In ten out of twelve of the race-sex groups, the number of isolates declined over increasing age, with inversions occurring in five of the ten cases.

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[11] For a bibliography of these and related studies, see Mary L. Northway, Esther B. Frankel and Reva Potashin, Personality and Sociometric Status (New York: Beacon House, 1947), Sociometry Monographs, No. 11, pp. 12-13, and 72-73.

[12] Ibid., p. 9.

TABLE 6.3--Percentages of Students Receiving No Sociometric Choices From Their Classmates, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School Race Sex	Number	Percentages of Students Isolated			
		Sophomore	Junior	Senior	All Grades
North Negro					
Negro Boys	(800)	52.0	52.4	46.1	50.2
Negro Girls	(887)	44.2	49.5	38.8	44.6
White Boys	(9)	100.0	50.0	75.0	77.8
White Girls	(8)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
North Mixed					
Negro Boys	(414)	66.2	59.2	52.3	57.0
Negro Girls	(436)	59.4	48.0	41.2	50.0
White Boys	(531)	70.1	58.8	50.3	60.3
White Girls	(446)	48.0	50.4	44.1	47.5
North White					
Negro Boys	(53)	73.3	69.2	60.0	69.8
Negro Girls	(58)	61.3	75.0	71.4	67.2
White Boys	(1223)	62.0	58.4	52.4	58.3
White Girls	(1286)	47.5	39.5	41.9	43.2

Only for the North White Negro girls was there an increase in isolation. The North Negro white girls were all isolated in all grades.

The total per cents show that girls are less apt to be isolates than boys of the same race. This follows from the socialization theory developed in the preceeding chapters, as it has been postulated that girls are socialized more rapidly than boys. North Negro, where whites are a small minority is an exception, but we will see that this results from racial composition rather than socialization. There is a perfectly regular inverse relationship between the percentage of a race isolated and the percentage of that race in the school. Negroes are most isolated in North White high school, and least isolated in North Negro High; conversely, whites are least isolated in North White High and most isolated in North Negro High.

With the exception of the North Negro High, a higher percentage of Negroes are isolated than whites. This is consistent with our view that Negro youth are retarded relative to whites in their socialization.

The predicted sex differences within race groups followed the predicted pattern, with the exceptions of the racial minorities in the two racially unbalanced schools. For the North White High Negroes, girls have less isolation only for the Sophomore group. For the North Negro High Whites, girls are totally isolated in every grade. These data suggest the hypothesis that racial composition rather than socialization causes this, and that girls in a racial minority become alienated from an institution faster than boys.

Frequencies of isolation in sociometric situations have been delt with in sociometric theory. Moreno and Jennings, for instance, dealt with comparing frequencies of isolates in chance and in sociometric situations.[13] More recently, Broffenbrenner developed a technique for determining the probability that i or less isolates would occur by chance. If this probability, P_i, is small, it can be concluded that there is group solidarity. It can thus be said that a large P_i indicates a lack of group solidarity.[14] Certainly our theory would lead to the prediction that P_i would be larger for Negroes than whites, and larger for boys than girls.

If $\overline{d}$ is the average number of choices made (Broffenbrenner uses choices allowed), then the likelihood of a person in the group N being chosen by chance is $p = \overline{d}/(N-1)$, and the probability of not being chosen is $q = 1 - p$. The probability of i or less isolates is given by the following formula.

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[13] J. L. Moreno and Helen H. Jennings, "Spontaneity Training, A Method of Personality Development," Psychodrama Monograph No. 4 (New York: Beacon House, 1936), p. 25.

[14] Urie Broffenbrenner, "The Measurement of Sociometric Status, Structure and Development," Sociometry Monographs No. 6 (New York: Beacon House, 1945), pp. 25 and 33.

$$P_i = 1 \frac{(N - i - 2)(N - i - 3) \ldots (N - i - d - 1)}{(N - 1)(N - 2) \ldots (N - d)} .$$

We know from Table 6.1 that $\overline{d}$ generally is slightly less than one. If 1 is used as an approximation of $\overline{d}$, all but the first term in numerator and denominator drop out. The proportion of isolates, i/N is identical to $1 - (N - 1)/N$ and consequently approximately equal to $1 - (N - 1 - 2)/(N - i)$ as $i/N \doteq (i + 2)/(N - 1)$. Since this formula for P_i can be used directly, without transformation of tabulated values, we see that i/N is approximately equal to the P_i probabilities, and the P_i values are approximately one-hundreth the percentages of students isolated for "All Grades" in Table 6.3. Hence this sociometric theory establishes a close relationship between the percentages of students isolated and what Broffenbrenner calls "group solidarity."

Since sociometric isolation is both an index of socialization and a special case of sociometric status, it is reasonable to expect that sociometric status should increase with age, for any race sex group. Dahlke, for example, in a sociometric study of 163 elementary school children, found that the girls have significantly higher sociometric choice status than boys.[15] Earlier, Moreno had observed that "The female shows a greater tendency toward socialization than boys."[16] Data on the mean average sociometric choices received, and correlations between grade and number of choices received, are presented in Table 6.4.

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[15] H. Otto Dahlke, "Determinants of Sociometric Relations Among Children in the Elementary School," Sociometry, 16 (1953), p. 331.

The predicted effects, an increase in the number of choices received over increasing grade, was observed in ten out of eleven race sex groups. All significant correlations were in the direction indicated. Inversions over grade occurred in only three out of the hypothesis confirming cases, and in all of these three, sociometric status and grade had a slight positive correlation. The correlations in general followed the pattern found in Table 6.3: In both tables, ten out of twelve cases go as predicted. There are no data for the North Negro White Girls, and the North White Negro Girls go in a weakly reversed pattern.

For each race group in each school, the average sociometric status of girls is higher than that for boys. In North Mixed and North White High Schools, where racial comparisons are possible, whites have higher status than Negroes.

Racial composition influences sociometric status, just as it was found to influence isolation. There is a perfectly regular inverse relationship between the sociometric status of a race and the percentage of that race

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[16] Moreno, op. cit., p. 702. He adds that the increase in sociometric status of children near the age of puberty is due to their socio-sexual development. Ibid.

TABLE 6.4--Mean Average Sociometric Status of Students, and Product Moment Correlations Between Sociometric Status and Grade, by Race, Sex, and Grade: Northern Schools.

School Race Sex	Number	Mean Average Choices Received				Correlations of Status and Grade
		Sophomore	Junior	Senior	All	
North Negro						
Negro Boys	(800)	.77	.83	.98	.86	.07*
Negro Girls	(887)	.95	.84	1.06	.94	.03
White Boys	(9)	.00	1.00	.50	.44	.24
White Girls	(8)	--	--	--	--	--
North Mixed						
Negro Boys	(414)	.59	.84	.84	.76	.09
Negro Girls	(436)	.74	.85	1.08	.88	.11**
White Boys	(531)	.47	.71	.82	.66	.14**
White Girls	(446)	.91	.81	.90	.90	.09
North White						
Negro Boys	(53)	.33	.38	.60	.40	.14
Negro Girls	(58)	.55	.30	.43	.45	-.09
White Boys	(1223)	.58	.69	.86	.69	.10**
White Girls	(1286)	.90	1.08	1.08	1.01	.06*

in the school. Negroes have lowest sociometric status in North White High, where they are fewest, and highest in North Negro High, where they are most numerous. Conversely, whites have lowest status in North Negro High, where they are fewest, and highest in North White High, where they are most.

Hence, we see that the proportion of choices increases with age, the proportion of isolates decreases with age, and sociometric status increases with age. These are the criteria Moreno used to define a retarded group structure. The opposite of a retarded group structure is an integrated group structure. Moreno utilizes integration of sociometric groups as evidence for his theory of group evolution, as he found that "Spontaneous organization of groupings among children and adolescents develop year by year from simple to more complex stages of integration."[17] The integration of groups was indexed by an increase in the percentage of choices reciprocated over increasing age. Criswell also found this process to operate.[18] In Table 6.2, the same result was obtained. Criswell, in a later paper, presents a general measure of group integration, which allows for controlling for group differences in size and composition through the use of a chance expectancy model.[19] It is somewhat surprising that this integration index has not been used as a measure of socialization, especially considering Moreno's emphasis on the relation of group integration to socialization.

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[17] Moreno, op. cit., p. 214.

[18] Joan Henning Criswell, "Sociometric Analysis of Negro-White Groups," Sociometric Review (Hudson, New York: New York State Training School for Girls, 1936), pp. 50-53.

A group is distinguished from an aggregate by the social bonds uniting the members. If a group is cohesive the members will be strongly attracted to each other. Blau, in developing a theory of social integration, points out that bonds of social attraction should be viewed from two perspectives: How attracted each person is to the group, and how attractive each person is to the rest of the group. He makes the further distinction that

> A person's strong attraction to a group clearly does not make him an integrated member of it. . . . Only if he can make himself attractive to the other members will he attain an integrated position among them. A person is considered to be integrated in a group if the other members find him sufficiently attractive to associate with him freely and accept him in their midst as one of them.[20]

In sociometric terms, this formulation of integration can be made in terms of friendship choices. If a student is attracted to a group, he will choose persons in that group. If others in that group find him attractive, they will in turn choose him. Hence, integration can be measured in terms of reciprocation of sociometric choices.

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[19] Joan Henning Criswell, "The Measurement of Group Integration," Sociometry, 10 (1947), pp. 259-267.

[20] Peter M. Blau, "A Theory of Social Integration," The American Journal of Sociology, LXV (1960), p. 546.

The measurement of reciprocation was considered by Moreno.[21] He simply traced the per cent of reciprocated choices in school classes over age. As children age, the per cent of choices reciprocated was found to increase. Similar results were found later by Criswell.[22] This pattern has also been found in Table 6.2.

A more sophisticated measure of group integration was presented in an article (cited by ff 19) by Criswell. The expected number of reciprocations in a group of size N, call it R, is given by the formula $R = N(N - 1)p^2$, where $p = \bar{d}/(N - 1)$ is the likelihood of a person being chosen by chance. The corresponding formula for U, the expected number of unreciprocated choices, is given by the formula $U = N(N - 1)p(1 - p)$. R plus U equals T, the total number of choices made by all members of the group. To obtain the index of integration, the obtained ratio of reciprocated to unreciprocated choices is divided by the chance ratio. The chance ratio, $N(N - 1)p^2/N(n - 1)pq$ reduces to p/q. Hence, the entire formula can be reduced to $I = R^*q/U^*p$, where R^* is the observed number of reciprocated choices, and U^* is the observed number of unreciprocated choices.

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Criswell, "Sociometric Analysis of Negro-White Groups," op. cit.

The integration index, I, was computed for all groups in the three northern schools. The obtained values were then correlated with the average age of each of the groups. Data are presented in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5. Mean and Standard Deviation of Criswell's Integration Index, and Product Moment Correlations Between the Integration Index and the Average Age[a] of Sociometric Groups: Northern Schools.

School	Number of Groups	Integration Index Mean	Integration Index Std. Dev.	Correlations Between Index and Average Age
North Negro	145	5.2	5.5	r = .06
North Mixed	173	2.3	5.2	r = .12
North White	236	2.9	6.9	r = .06

[a] Average age = 3 (number of seniors) + 2 (juniors) + sophomores/seniors + juniors + sophomores.

The correlations were in the predicted direction, though the increase in integration over age is weak. The three correlations are not significant. It is not a surprise that the correlations would be so low, as the correlations between number of reciprocated choices and grade in Table 6.2 were also low. Those low correlations were significant, however, as the case base was the number of students rather than the number of groups.

The integration index is a relatively crude measure of the cohesion of a sociometric group. The higher the index, the more complexly the students in the group are inter-related, the more complex and interdependent are their role relations. Since the groups increase in complexity and inter-relatedness as students age, we can speak of progressive differentiation of the system. This is, in Boulding's words, "structural growth" of a social system.[23]

In the next section, we will examine the processes of structural growth in adolescent peer groups. Sex roles will be emphasized, and limited reference will be made to race roles. Race and the peer group will be taken up in detail in the next chapter. Before turning to this discussion, we will briefly examine sociometric groups in terms of population growth. The size of a group, as we shall see, is an extremely crude measure of group integration. The size of a group is an important property in sociological and social psychological theories of groups, however, and thus merits a few comments.

A study by Bassett contains data on high school groups of varying size and age. Of ten cliques, one is predominantly senior, two predominantly junior, three predominantly sophomore, and three freshmen. The senior group had 17 students, the junior groups averaged 13, and the sophomore and freshman groups averaged 10.3 each. Hence, population size is seen to increase with age.[24]

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[23] Kenneth E. Boulding, "Toward a General Theory of Growth," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 19 (1953), pp. 326-340.

Hallworth found that grammar school boys and girls, as they age, had

> . . . a tendency to make progressively larger and better integrated groups. . . . There was a growth from mutual choices, through small and loosely-knit structures, to a large group centered around a nucleus of some four or five individuals, one of whom was particularly overchosen.[25]

Hence Hallworth's data is consistent with Bassett's. He goes beyond in suggesting a positive relationship between size and integration, and that size *per se* is not the whole story. Data on the relationships between size and age, and size and integration, are presented in Table 6.6.

The correlations between size and age are positive but weak. These values are very close to the correlations found between integration and age (Table 6.5) and between reciprocations and age (Table 6.2). Hallworth's statement that size and integration vary together is supported by high and significant correlations. (It is not clear that Hallworth meant Criswell's index by "integration.")

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[24] Raymond E. Bassett, "Cliques in a Student Body of Stable Membership," *Sociometry*, 7 (1944), pp. 290-302. The data is derived from Table X, p. 292. The same table also shows a weak positive relation between grade and number of reciprocations.

[25] H. J. Hallworth, "Sociometric Relations Among Grammar School Boys and Girls Between the Ages of Eleven and Sixteen Years," *Sociometry*, 16 (1953), pp. 39-70.

TABLE 6.6--Mean and Standard Deviation of Size of Sociometric Groups, and Product Moment Correlations Between Size and Average Age, and Between Size and the Integration Index: Northern Schools.

School	Number of Groups	Size of Groups		Product Moment Correlations	
		Mean	Std.Dev.	Size and Age	Size and Integration
North Negro	(145)	8.7	12.5	.06	.80**
North Mixed	(173)	7.1	10.4	.13	.17**
North White	(236)	7.6	12.3	.08	.88**

Sex Role Socialization in the Peer Group

In our examination of the basic processes of role socialization in the nuclear family, it has been pointed out that in modern society the process is beset with difficulties. In part, the adolescent subcultures that have arisen are in response to these difficulties. Adolescent subcultures supplement socialization in the family. Both the adolescent group and the family contribute to the socialization of the growing child. Further, they socialize by similar processes. By this extension, we can predict at the outset that girls' sociometric groups will develop more rapidly than boys', and whites' more rapidly than Negroes'. In particular, the proportion of girls in groups should be correlated with size and with the integration index. Similarly, the proportion white should be correlated with size and integration. Data on this are presented in Table 6.7.

TABLE 6.7--Product Moment Correlations Between Percentage Female in Group and Group Size, Percentage Female and the Integration Index, Percentage White and Group Size, and Percentage White and the Integration Index: Northern Schools.

School	Number of Groups	Female and Size	Female and Integration	White and Size	White and Integration
North Negro	145	.08	.10	-.05	-.08
North Mixed	173	.01	.06	-.02	.08
North White	236	.04	.10	.06	.08

The predictions based on sex roles went in the positive direction, though none of the correlations are significant. The predictions based on race roles did not work out too well. The North Negro values are practically meaningless as the white boys made only one choice and received only four, and the white girls made two choices and received none. Of the remaining four correlations that have some meaning, three went in the direction indicated, and one was .02, for percentage white and size.

Before turning to the social systems of the five sample high schools, one more set of data will be examined. The sex composition of sociometric groups is determined by cross-sex choices made and received. Ignoring race, it must be the case that one sex gives more choices and the other receives more (ignoring equality). The group with the highest level of sociological development can be expected to receive more choices and give less, as they should be more attractive than they find the other group. Hence, girls should have a higher level of self-preference than boys, and whites a higher level than Negroes.

The sex self-preference of each race sex group can be measured from Crisswell's double-ratio index of self-preference.[26]

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[26] Joan H. Criswell, "Racial Cleavage in Negro-White Groups," Sociometry, 1 (1937), pp. 81-89; Joan H. Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom," Archives of Psychology, No. 235 (1939), p. 19.

$$\frac{\text{Number of same-sex choices} \div \text{number of cross-sex choices}}{\text{Number of students in same sex} \div \text{number of students in other sex}}$$

TABLE 6.8--Criswell's Index of Sex Self-Preference, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
North Negro	8.78	*	9.29	.45
North Mixed	7.40	9.45	9.97	15.90
North White	2.08	7.90	6.73	12.23

The values of white boys and white girls at North Negro High are based on one and no cross-sex choices, respectively, and have little meaning. As expected, within each race, girls have higher self-preferences than boys, in school by school comparisons. Also as predicted, within each sex group, whites have higher indices than Negroes.

There is a general tendency for the scores to be lower at schools with a high proportion of students in the white race.

Similar data for cross-race choices will be presented in the next chapter.

Before turning to this topic, however, we will first report on a study of urban adolescent peer groups conducted by Dunphy.[27] This study relates the socialization of the adolescent by his peers to the theoretical discussion of socialization by parents, as discussed in Chapter III.

Dunphy writes: "In western urban society, the peer group is an important avenue through which . . . the transition from the nuclear family, to wider adult society . . ." takes place.[28] If peer groups are, as Dunphy states, transitory between family socialization and the attainment of adult roles, it should--as stated--be found that parents and peers socialize by similar ways. This is exactly what Dunphy found: ". . . socialization in the peer group is an _extension_ of socialization in the family system and shows important resemblances in pattern."[29] There are two important senses in which socialization by parents and peers is alike.

First of all, the personality is viewed by Dunphy as expanding, ". . . through the _progressive_ _differentiation_ of his object system."[30] Clearly this establishes continuity with the General System Theory presented in Chapter II. Dunphy writes that, "As in the family, the individual proceeds through a series of successively more complex systems of relationships and in the process identifies with status figures, internalizing their roles."[31] The stages of development of the adolescent go from: (1) Sexually undifferentiated cliques; (2) to the beginning of the crowd, as these unisexual cliques engage in group-to-group contact; (3) to the crowd in a structured transition, in which upper status members form hetero-sexual cliques in close association; (4) to a fully developed crowd, consisting of hetero-sexual cliques in close association; (5) and finally, to the beginning of crowd disintegration, in which relations become loosely associated cross-sex dyads. This description of the phases of group development are related to Moreno's theory of group evolution presented at the beginning of this chapter.

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[27] Dexter C. Dunphy, "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups," _Sociometry_, 26 (1963), pp. 230-246.

[28] _Ibid_., p. 245.

[29] _Ibid_.

[30] _Ibid_., Emphasis added.

The second sense in which parents and peers are alike in their socializing is related to the theory presented in Chapter III, in terms of the theories of Freud and Parsons. It was shown in this earlier discussion that identification with parents contributes to the acquisition of a basic sex role. In Chapter V, it was further shown that peers gain in importance relative to parents as the child ages. By adolescence, the peer group begins to replace the family as a sex role socializing agent. Just as the leadership of the parental roles socializes the child, so does the leadership structure of the peer group. Freud, e.g., regarded the family as prototypical of all human groups and leaders as parent substitutes.[32] Dunphy writes that "Certainly the position of the leader in the peer group is analogous in some ways with that of the parent and a similar identification appears to occur."[33]

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[31] *Ibid*.

The role differentiations in the peer group follow the pattern described by Parsons and Bales,[34] which has been discussed in detail in Chapter III.

In the family, the father is the instrumental task leader. In the adolescent group, the leader is the person who plays the most advanced cross-sex role. In addition, leaders are responsible for

> maintaining the general level of heterosexual development in their cliques. They acted as confidants and advisors in matters of heterosexual sexual behavior and even organized "partners" for "slow learners." They thus bring about a progressive development in heterosexual relationships on the part of those in their groups. . . . The leaders . . . strongly influence the behavior of those in their cliques by consistently maintaining the pressure to achieve higher levels of social development.[35]

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[32] Sigmund Freud, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego (New York: Liveright, 1922). He wrote: "We already begin to divine that the mutual tie between members of a group is in the nature of an identification of this kind, based upon an important emotional common quality; and we suspect that this common quality lies in the nature of the tie with the leader." *Ibid.*, p. 108, cited in Dunphy, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[33] Dunphy, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[34] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

[35] Dunphy, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

Hence, we see that group leaders are role socializers for members of adolescent groups, just as the father is an instrumental role socializer in the nuclear family. The leaders are also powerful in the group, just as the father is powerful in the family. The leader's role is instrumental-powerful.

Role differentiation in the crowd also occurs along the expressive dimension. The major expressive role is that of the "sociocenter." This is, of course, analogous to the mother's expressive-powerful role in the nuclear family.

In summary, Dunphy found that, as in the family, the adolescent in the peer group ". . . proceeds through a series of successively more complex systems of relationships and in the process identifies with status figures, internalizing their roles. Thus his personality continues to expand through the progressive differentiation of his object system."[36]

Hence, we see that the group structures of adolescents can be analyzed within the theoretical context developed in earlier chapters. In the previous chapter, it was stated that peers increase in importance as the child ages. Here, we have seen that by the onset of adolescence the peer group has assumed ". . . many of the functions previously performed for the individual by the family and is thus of considerable significance in promoting his increasing independence from the family."[37] The functions described by Dunphy emphasize intentional instruction. It has, however, been stated in this text that peers socialize primarily by incidental learning, i.e., peers are primarily role models rather than role socializers. Here, we see again that the two processes are not substantively distinct, and that socializing reference groups are of value in socialization by both methods. As a final note, it is reasonable to expect that the peer group as a reference group is most important for a role model, for incidental learning, and that the peer group as a membership group is most important for role socialization, for intentional instruction.

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[36] _Ibid_., p. 245.

The data presented in this chapter are weak and often fail not only as a variance model, but as an independence model as well. The measure of structural growth in sociometric groups provide data that give a limited support for the predicted partial ordering of race sex groups. There are exceptions to the predictions, and inversions in the increases in these indices over time. The hypothesised boy-girl differences receive more consistent support than do the hypotheses about race, which were influenced by school racial composition. The extension of the earlier theory of structural growth to sociometric systems is shown to be viable, but has by no means been demonstrated empirically by the primary and secondary data presented here.

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[37] Ibid., pp. 242-243.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF NEGRO AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS[1]

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing concern on the part of social scientists and educators with youth socialization and the emergence of "youth subcultures."[2] In pursuit of explanations of these phenomena, the social scientist has looked to what have become a traditional set of "independent variables": Dimensions of family organization, social class, religion, parental education, and community structure and size. Race, as an independent variable, is rarely utilized in any systematic way. This is not to suggest that race has been totally neglected. Rather, the student of education has practiced a sort of "methodological segregation." In studies of youth within the formal setting of the high school, Negroes tend to be either "lumped" together with other students or excluded from the analysis with the explanation that their presence would distort the findings. It is primarily in the area of social problems and social deviance that Negro youth are given research consideration. In these instances, however, the race variable is too often merely a marginal showing what per cent of all delinquents, drop outs, gang members, and so forth are Negroes. On this, Lott and Lott write:

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[1] This chapter is, in part, adapted from David Gottlieb and Warren TenHouten, "The Social Systems of Negro and White Adolescents," paper read at the 59th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, September 3, 1964, Montreal, Canada. Forthcoming as David Gottlieb and Warren D. TenHouten, "Racial Composition as a Variable in the Social Systems of Three High Schools," Journal of Marriage and the Family.

[2] Albert J. Lott and Bernice E. Lott, Negro and White Youth: A Psychological Study in a Border-State Community (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), p. 3. Also see R. M. Dreger and K. S. Miller, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States," Psychological Bulletin, 57 (1960), pp. 361-402.

> The social sciences in the United States have . . . to a considerable extent, ignored the nondeviant Negro, thus contributing to his lack of visibility. Within psychology, for example, Negroes have usually been excluded from test standardization groups, have not typically been studied as subjects in investigations of general psychological processes, and have been generally overlooked in studies of child development.[3]

The failure to look at Negro youth within the setting of our schools is all the more difficult to understand, given the present level of awareness of race in interpersonal relations, the development of self-concept, and educational and occupational aspirations and attainment.

This chapter will deal with similarities and differences of Negro and white youth in a context of the social system of their high school.

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[3] *Ibid*.

An important consideration in the design of this research was to select schools at different stages of racial change. Since the natural ecological process of racial integration into most social institution in our society is Negro in-migration and white out-migration, we would expect differences in the social systems of the high schools as the proportion of Negroes increases. Within these social systems, the selection of one predominantly white school, one mixed, and one predominantly Negro makes it possible to examine what processes occur when the student establishment is confronted with an incoming group. In addition, information can be gained on how the newcomers establish themselves and how they are absorbed into the ongoing structure. Although this approach does not offer the analytical opportunities provided by a longitudinal examination, it does allow for the making of comparisons between systems at various stages of racial change.

Involvement in School Activities

The degree to which students are integrated within the social setting of the school can be determined in part by their involvement in the extra-curricular activities offered by the school. Table 7.1 shows the percentages of students in each race sex group in each school that are involved in one or more extra-curricular activities.

TABLE 7.1--Percentages of Students Involved in One or More Extra-Curricular Social Activities, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
School	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
South Negro	63.2	(209)	--	---	70.0	(263)	--	---
South White	--	---	72.6	(606)	--	---	70.9	(608)
North Negro	72.3	(800)	33.0	(9)	71.4	(876)	25.0	(8)
North Mixed	73.8	(401)	43.5	(531)	71.4	(420)	49.0	(440)
North White	54.5	(55)	64.2	(1196)	51.7	(58)	61.1	(1164)

At South Negro High, Negro boys participate in fewer activities than Negro boys in the North, with the exception of North White High School. The Negro girls at this school, however, participate at the same rate as Negro girls in the Northern schools where there is a sizeable Negro group in the school, and more than the small Negro minority girls at North White High.

The South White High School students of both sexes participate in more activities than the white students in the Northern schools.

It can be seen from Table 7.1 that only in North White High are Negro students less likely to be involved in extra-curricular activities than their white peers. In this school, the difference between Negro and white participation is least.

As we progress from North White, where Negro students are a small minority, to a larger Negro population--in the other two schools--there is an increase in the proportion of Negro students participating, and a decrease in the proportion of white students participating. These data indicate a departure on the part of the white students as Negro students gain in numbers, and an increasing involvement of Negro students. This finding evinces the importance of examining in greater detail the social processes by which Negro adolescents begin, maintain, and enhance their involvement in their high school. Hopefully, examination of further data will enable us to decide whether (1) there is an undifferentiated mass exodus on the part of white students who have already been in the system, or whether (2) there is a gradual giving up and taking on of certain roles and functions by both racial groups in the school. It will be shown that as changes in racial composition takes place, the withdrawal of whites from activity participation is not an undifferentiated mass exodus: On the contrary, there is a very definite structure in the changes in roles and functions of Negro and white students. It will be shown that, for Northern schools, Negro and white students develop distinct social systems, that result in both racial groups maintaining their own forms of racial segregation.

In terms of increasing Negro participation in the high school, the following processes can be anticipated.

A. In situations where there is an already established social system of white students, the incoming Negro group will enter first into those activities which call for a minimum of social or unstructured inter-personal contact between the races. The initial participation within the school will be limited to those activities which are not perceived as prestige-giving by the white majority or by the Negro minority.

B. As the proportion of Negro students increases and they become a sizeable percentage of the student population (such as in North Mixed High School), there will emerge two separate social systems. In this case there will be clear distinctions between the races with respect to the types of activity in which the student is involved and the prestige attributed to those engaged in the activity.

C. When there has been a total changeover from white to Negro (such as in North Negro High School), there will be a decline of Negro participation in certain activities which are perceived as status-giving. In other words, participation will spread out to all activities, and student behavior will not be too different from any other group of adolescents of similar background and high schools.

The selected activities in which students participate was asked as an open-ended question in the South, but precoded in the North. Consequently, a more detailed breakdown was obtained for the Northern schools than for the Southern schools. Data for the South are presented in Table 7.2 and data for the North in Table 7.3.

TABLE 7.2--Percentages of Students Participating in Types of Activities, by Race and Sex: Southern Schools.

Activity	South Negro High School		South White High School	
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
Academic	11	15	23	29
Athletic	54	39	26	9
Social	12	34	20	13
Non-academic	58	64	20	26
Community Sponsored	11	20	13	23
Total Number	(115)	(166)	(592)	(593)

"Academic" activities refer to clubs associated with academic courses, scholarship and honor clubs, and so forth. "Athletic" activities include intramural sports, and cheerleading. "Community sponsored" activities refer to formal organizations such as 4-H and Scouting.

South Negro High students place less emphasis on academic activities than South White High students. They place more emphasis on athletics, particularly for girls. Negro girls participate in far more social activities than Negro boys; for whites, boys participate in more social activities than girls. This pattern, though not as pronounced, will also occur in the Northern schools. This finding is commensurate with the idea that Negro girls have more social capability relative to Negro boys than do white girls relative to white boys.

Data for the three Northern Schools are presented in Table 7.3.

TABLE 7.3--Percentages of Students Participating in Selected Extra-Curricular Activities, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Activity	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
	North Negro High School			
Band or Orchestra	19	67	6	--
Chorus or Vocal	14	--	37	100
Dramatics	7	33	12	--
School Paper or Yearbook	3	33	8	--
Debate Clubs	10	67	7	--
Student Government	11	--	18	--
Language Clubs	10	--	25	--
Hobby Clubs	14	67	12	--
Athletics, Varsity Club	52	67	35	--
Vocational Clubs	16	--	18	50
Total Number	(597)	(3)	(626)	(2)
Activity	North Mixed High School			
Band or Orchestra	17	16	10	12
Chorus or Vocal	16	8	41	26
Dramatics	6	6	19	9
School Paper or Yearbook	6	14	9	16
Debate Clubs	8	15	8	9
Student Government	6	13	6	14
Language Clubs	3	12	5	14
Hobby Clubs	8	12	14	13
Athletics, Varsity Club	71	53	58	36
Vocational Clubs	9	7	18	11
Total Number	(296)	(231)	(300)	(216)
Activity	North White High School			
Band or Orchestra	18	17	10	9
Chorus or Vocal	15	8	37	25
Dramatics	5	5	7	10
School Paper or Yearbook	5	14	7	14
Debate Clubs	7	3	4	3
Student Government	5	17	7	15
Language Clubs	7	5	--	4
Hobby Clubs	75	15	33	11
Athletics, Varsity Club	70	62	62	37
Vocational Clubs	15	8	17	12
Total Number	(30)	(768)	(30)	(712)

From Table 7.3 it can be observed that while there is some variation between students of the same race in different schools, the variations between races in the same schools are more pronounced. In North White High School, comparison of males and females of each race shows that there are five out of ten activities in which the differential of involvement exceeds five per cent. Of particular interest are the activities in which both groups of students are frequently involved. For the Negro males in the predominantly white school, Athletics, Band or Orchestra, Vocational Clubs, and Chorus are the primary areas of involvement. For the white males in the school, the five activities most frequently given are Athletics, Student Government, Band or Orchestra, Hobby Clubs, and the School Newspaper and Yearbook. The two activities in which both groups have a high rate of involvement are Athletics and Band-Orchestra. These are highly structured activities which require little interpersonal contact. In particular, they require little interracial contact. Student Government, School Newspaper, and Hobby Clubs, on the other hand, demand a closer and more consistent contact which must occur in a relatively informal setting, and for which entrance is controlled by students, on the basis of particularistic criteria such as popularity.

The pattern among the females in this school is not too different from that observed among the males. The one exception is the Negro girls' high involvement in Hobby Clubs. This can be explained by the face that the particular club to which the Negro girls belong is a school sponsored popular music group organized by the Negro girls: It is not participated in by white girls.

In North Mixed High School, there are seven activities among the males, and eight among the females, where differences in activity involvement exceeds five per cent. In addition, it will be noted that there are similarities between this school and North White High in the types of activities in which both racial groups are involved. Finally, the findings for this school lend support to the proposition that with an increase in the Negro sub-population there will be indications of the emergence of two separate social systems. This conclusion was supported by direct observation of social patterns within this school. Racial cleavage in areas of social contact was pronounced: In the classroom, in the halls, and in structured activities.

In North Negro High School, the school with only a handful of white students, the Negro students show a greater spread in activity involvement. As suggested earlier, in a school where the process of racial change from white to Negro is "completed," there is less concentration in specific activities and a more even distribution into all activities within the school. Although the white group in this school is very small, it is interesting to note that it is very much like the minority group in North White High in that the numerical minority clusters in a few activities.

Prestige and Leadership

In examining prestige and leadership in the social systems of high schools, we will look at three sets of data. First, the extent to which students in the various situations perceive themselves as leaders in their school. This will then be related to the student's image he would like others to have of his or her high school experience. Then, we will examine the relationships of students' perceived leadership and criteria used to describe who are the leaders in the high school.

Data on student perception of belonging to a leading group in the school was based on responses to the following questions:

> Would you say you are a part of a group who are
> leaders in your school?
>
> If no: Would you like to be a part of a leading group?

"Yes" or "No" responses were offered for each question. Data are presented in Table 7.4.

At South Negro High, girls are more apt to belong to a leading group than boys. The percentages for both sexes are higher than at any of the other four high schools.

The proportions of "Yes" responses are slightly higher for boys at South White High School. The proportions for white Students are higher in the South than in the North.

In North White High School, Negro students are slightly less apt to belong to a leading group. Of all the students

TABLE 7.4--Percentages of Students with Various Perceptions of Membership in a Leading High School Group, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

School Race Sex	Number	Yes, Belong to Leading Group	No, but Would Like To	No, and Don't Care	No, Would Not Like	No, No Info. on Like	Total Per Cent
South Negro							
Negro Boys	(196)	57.1	20.4	15.3	5.6	1.5	99.9
Negro Girls	(256)	66.1	17.6	10.1	6.2	---	100.0
South White							
White Boys	(585)	43.2	33.8	14.0	8.5	.5	100.0
White Girls	(600)	40.0	37.7	16.1	6.2	---	100.0
North Negro							
Negro Boys	(790)	43.4	33.2	14.4	8.9	.1	100.0
Negro Girls	(875)	43.5	33.9	12.1	9.8	.6	99.9
White Boys	(9)	44.4	33.3	11.1	11.1	---	99.9
White Girls	(8)	12.5	25.0	---	62.5	---	100.0
North Mixed							
Negro Boys	(407)	43.0	28.5	19.7	8.6	.2	100.0
Negro Girls	(492)	32.9	39.1	16.3	11.2	.5	100.0
White Boys	(531)	28.2	24.8	26.1	20.9	---	100.0
White Girls	(437)	28.8	30.0	24.5	16.7	.2	100.2
North White							
Negro Boys	(52)	30.8	42.3	17.3	9.6	---	100.0
Negro Girls	(57)	24.6	49.1	17.5	8.8	---	100.0
White Boys	(1205)	30.0	28.5	27.1	15.9	.4	99.9
White Girls	(1260)	29.1	32.4	23.3	14.8	.5	100.0

that do not belong, Negro students are slightly more apt to want to belong, and less apt to respond that they "wouldn't like to belong."

In North Mixed High School, the pattern of responses for whites is almost identical to that of whites in North White High, with the exception that non-members are less apt to want into a leading group. The Negro group shows an increase in participation in leading groups, and a high desire to belong if they do not belong. It is evident that Negro students perceive more rewards in the social system in the school where they are not a small minority.

In North Negro High, Negro Students are more apt to perceive that they belong to a leading group, and less apt to have no desire to belong if they do not belong. This pattern is pronounced for the white girls: They have less membership in the leading group of their school than any other race sex group, and a greater propensity to respond that they would not like to belong to the leading groups in that school.

In Table 7.5 membership in a leading group will be related to a desire to be remembered as a "Most Popular" student. This perceived actual popularity to the importance attached to being popular.

In the Southern Schools, girls in and not in leading groups have more desire to belong than boys.

TABLE 7.5--Percentages of Students Desiring to be Remembered as "Most Popular" by Perceived Membership in a Leading Group, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

School	In Leading Group				In Leading Group			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
	Negro Boys				White Boys			
South Negro	7	(27)	9	(58)	--	---	--	---
South White	--	---	--	---	8	(12)	17	(223)
North Negro	16	(329)	12	(530)	0	(4)	0	(4)
North Mixed	14	(172)	25	(128)	25	(141)	28	(355)
North White	12	(16)	14	(37)	22	(326)	22	(847)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
South Negro	11	(36)	29	(63)	--	---	--	---
South White	--	---	--	---	47	(15)	25	(223)
North Negro	16	(370)	16	(478)	0	(1)	25	(4)
North Mixed	31	(138)	18	(276)	21	(128)	20	(290)
North White	36	(14)	10	(42)	28	(350)	28	(851)

In North White High, the Negro students who are in a leading group want to be remembered as most popular about as often as whites, the Negro boys less often and the Negro girls more often. Of the non-leading Negroes, there is less desire to enter a leading group than for the non-leading whites.

In North Mixed High, where the proportion of Negroes is greater, the Negro pattern persists: Negro girls are more apt to want to be remembered as popular than Negro boys in the popular group, and less apt in the non-popular group. The big difference is that Negro non-members show a big increase in desire to be remembered as "most popular." The white girls in this school decrease in wanting to be most popular, both for members and non-members of leading groups.

In North Negro High, the Negro group has more desire to be remembered as popular than the white group, as only one white student wants to be remembered as popular in this nearly all Negro school.

Table 7.6 deals with the responses of students in each school to the question, "Who, in your estimation, are the real leaders in your school?"

In North White School, we find that among both the Negro males and females there is a contradiction between the activities in which they are involved and the activities that are perceived as important to leadership. Student Council, for example, is an activity that Negro students participate in to a limited extent. Yet they perceive it as important to student leadership. Athletics, on the other hand, attracts Negro students but is given little weight as a means to student status. Finally, Negroes place greater emphasis on being a Good Student than white students. This would be anticipated, given our initial position, that Negroes in a minority situation will seek entrance into the system through more formal activities. In this case Negro students show stronger dependency on the formal system by seeking rewards from adults in the system through taking on the role of the "good student."

TABLE 7.6--Percentages of Students Giving Various Answers to "Who are the Leaders" in Their School, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School Race Sex	Number	Athletes	Fraternity, Sorority	Delinquents	Student Government	Party Goers	Good Students	Clubs	Other	Total Per Cent
North Negro										
Negro Boys	(701)	36	2	4	27	8	21	0	1	100
Negro Girls	(778)	35	2	3	26	11	22	1	1	101
White Boys	(8)	12	--	--	25	--	50	--	12	99
White Girls	(5)	20	--	--	40	--	40	--	--	100
North Mixed										
Negro Boys	(383)	42	3	7	20	12	20	--	3	99
Negro Girls	(392)	44	2	4	29	16	29	--	5	100
White Boys	(467)	20	4	11	26	5	36	--	4	100
White Girls	(401)	16	2	5	26	8	21	--	4	102
North White										
Negro Boys	(47)	13	4	2	40	6	34	--	--	99
Negro Girls	(49)	14	4	4	45	6	24	2	--	101
White Boys	(1001)	22	5	7	32	16	15	--	3	100
White Girls	(1164)	14	22	2	33	11	15	2	--	99

At North Mixed High, where we would predict the emergence of two separate social systems, there is greater consensus between both Negroes and whites as to what leads to leadership and activity involvement. Negroes are more likely than whites to be involved in athletics, and they see this activity as important to leadership. Conversely, whites are lower on athletic activities and give athletics less status. Student government involvement is higher for whites, and they are more likely to see it as a means of leadership than are the Negro students. Finally, unlike North White High, where "Party Going" was more likely to be perceived by whites than Negroes as important to leadership, we have the opposite at North Mixed. Here, we would propose that Negro students are in the process of developing their own informal networks, quite apart from the white student body.

At North Negro High the situation among Negro students resembles that noted among the white students at North White High where whites are a clear majority. There is a more even spread in the kinds of activities identified with leadership as there is in activity participation. Here the total system is in the hands of the Negro student and there is little reason to concentrate one's involvement in any one activity, or group of activities. The small white minority in North Negro High has little involvement in school-centered activities and tends--not unlike the Negro minority in North White High--to turn to the formal system for rewards.

Criteria for Popularity Within the Peer Group

In the preceeding section, we saw that a racial minority in a high school will seek status in formal activities requiring a minimum of cross-race interaction. Racial composition was seen to be an important determinant of the kinds of activities students of a given race see as important to status. Here, we will examine characteristics of different race sex groups in each school that are perceived as status giving, not in the total system, but in the student's own informal peer group. Students were presented a set of alternatives to the following question: "In the group you go around with, which of the things below are important to be popular with the group?" The distributions of responses to this question for Northern schools are presented in Table 7.7.

"Ability to get along with all types of people" was mentioned as important to popularity in the peer group more than twice as frequently as any other choice by every race sex group in every school.

In all three schools, Negroes tend to place higher status value on dress and the possession of money.

Negroes in all schools place a higher value on being informed about the popular heroes of teen-age mass culture. In both race groups, girls give this response more frequently than boys. The North White High Negroes are in general more apt to value instrumental attributes that are rewarded by the

TABLE 7.7--Percentages of Students Giving Selected Criteria As Important to Being Popular in Their Peer Group, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.[a]

Criteria	North White				North Mixed				North Negro			
	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Having some special talent	18.9	14.8	7.7	4.1	20.3	18.4	11.8	5.2	22.7	11.1	12.1	--
Being a sharp dresser	30.2	26.5	28.8	25.5	35.6	27.1	13.5	19.6	33.0	--	17.9	--
Have easy moral standards	17.0	17.5	21.2	12.1	19.3	18.8	21.4	10.0	20.4	44.4	18.8	--
Have high moral standards	17.0	14.4	23.1	33.9	15.3	11.9	16.3	27.4	15.5	11.1	20.3	12.5
Good grades	11.3	13.8	13.5	17.1	18.3	17.0	15.9	21.2	22.2	11.1	23.3	37.5
Drive a car	17.0	28.5	13.5	12.0	27.1	28.7	7.2	8.8	23.9	11.1	9.0	--
Know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars	15.1	8.6	25.0	14.9	12.5	8.5	20.7	15.5	16.1	--	21.8	37.5
Drinking or smoking	11.3	15.9	1.9	5.2	12.5	15.6	4.3	3.6	8.1	--	4.3	--
Have money	18.9	21.1	15.4	7.4	22.0	22.5	9.6	8.8	25.3	11.1	10.3	--
Ability to get along with all types of people	75.5	70.8	82.7	90.1	77.2	70.8	91.1	87.6	75.2	88.9	88.7	100.0
Total Number	53	1178	52	1264	399	494	416	419	786	9	860	8

[a] Percentages may total to over 100.0 since this is a multiple choice item.

formal system--being higher than whites on talent, and slightly lower on good grades.

In North Mixed High, all groups place more emphasis on talent and grades. The Negro boys place even more emphasis on dress, driving a car, and having money relative to the white boys than in North White High. Negro and white girls, on the other hand, both place less emphasis on these attributes than in North White High. North Mixed Negroes, having a better-developed inter-personal system than North White Negroes, place much greater emphasis on getting along with people, and less emphasis on emulating middle class morality, as in North White High School.

There is very little difference between the Negroes in North Mixed and North Negro High Schools. At North Negro High, talent and grades are given slightly more emphasis. Talent and grades, however, increase for every group, from North White to North Mixed to North Negro, with the one exception of the white boys in North Negro High.

In summary, there is considerable variation of responses between race sex groups within each school, but very little variation for race sex groups between schools. The small differences found between schools are more readily explained by class differences than by racial composition. For a given race-sex group, the racial composition of their school is not highly related to the frequency to which they respond to various criteria for popularity in the peer group. This is

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in contradistinction to responses for leadership activities for the whole school. Though Negroes and whites participate to some extent in the same formal school activities, they are far less apt to belong to the same informal peer groups. Racial composition of a school is unimportant to popularity in the peer group because, in all three schools, peer groups are racially segregated, i.e., they are racially homogeneous. A high level of racial cleavage in friendship patterns was observed in seating arrangements, in the lunchrooms, and in the halls of the schools. In addition, sociometric data was obtained from each student, to measure the amount of cross-race friendship choices of students in each school. These data will be examined in the following section.

The Racial Composition of Informal Peer Groups

It is a well-established empirical finding that a racial or ethnic minority will usually show higher self-preference than a racial or ethnic majority. Lundberg and Dickson have shown that Negro high school students show greater self-preference than whites, and that their self-preference is greatest for friendship choices, is intermediate for work, and is least for leadership.[4]

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[4] George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Interethnic Relation in a High School Population," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1952), pp. 1-10; George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association Among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," American Sociological Review, 17

In this study, sociometric data were collected only for friendship choices. All students were asked to name their three best friends. From this data, the self-preference levels of each race sex group in each school was determined, using Criswell's double-ratio index of self-preference.[5]

$$\frac{\text{Number of same-race choices} \div \text{number of cross-race choices}}{\text{Number of students in same race} \div \text{number of students in other race}}$$

The self-preference scores are presented in Table 7.8. Since there were so few whites in North Negro High, and since they made so few within-sample choices, the indices for that school are virtually meaningless, and are not presented.

TABLE 7.8--Criswell's Index of Race Self-Preference, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
North Mixed	74.9	17.7	94.1	21.9
North White	58.0	4.7	104.2	60.4

(1952), pp. 23-35. A recent study by St. John confirms this result: See Nancy Hoyt St. John, "De Facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High School," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), pp. 334-338.

[5] Joan H. Criswell, "Racial Cleavage in Negro-White Groups," Sociometry, 1 (1937), pp. 81-89. Joan H. Criswell "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom," Archives of Psychology, No. 235 (1939), p. 19.

As expected, Negroes show higher self-preference than whites. Within each racial group, girls show higher racial self-preference than boys.

It was stated earlier that, in a minority situation, where there is an already established social system of white students, the incoming Negro group will enter first into those activities which call for a minimum of social contact with whites. Here we see that the Negro minority at North White High does show a high level of self-preference in their choices of friends. In this situation, their participation in the school, in activities and so forth, is largely limited to those activities which require a minimum of cross-race interaction. This high level of self-preference persists in the situation where the Negro population is greater, at North Mixed High, with the emergence of two separate social systems. In addition, from analysis of this school's sociometric choices, we see a decline in the proportion of cross-race choices made by white students. This is further evidence that there are two separate social systems at North Mixed High, one Negro and one white.

The Negro minority at North White High and the white minority at North Negro High both showed a marked tendency to choose as their three best friends persons not in the school. The per cent of choices made within the school shows the increasing alienation of whites from the school as the proportion of Negroes increases. At North White High, the whites are about twice as apt to choose within the school as are the Negroes. At North Mixed High, there is no marked difference in in-school choices among Negroes and whites. At North Negro High, the Negroes become most committed to the school, and the whites highly alienated. This enables us to make the following proposition: The Level of commitment of students to their high school varies directly with the proportion of students in the school who are of their own race. The test of this, of course, requires better data.

Racial composition is seen to be a strong determinant of cross-race interaction. Since the Negroes at North White High are so few, by chance alone, i.e., in the absence of social forces, it can be expected that they will choose whites much more often than themselves. Table 7.9 shows that 17.6 per cent of the Negro girls' choices and 27.7 per cent of the Negro boys' choices were given to whites, whereas less than one per cent of the whites' choices went to Negroes. Clearly, the proportion of cross-race choices is heavily influenced by the racial composition of the school, as when as "control" for racial composition by the use of Criswell's self-preference index, we see that Negroes have higher self-preference scores than whites.

At North Mixed High School, the per cent of cross-race choices is low for both Negroes and Whites. This is additional evidence for the conceptualization that there are two social systems in this school. Finally, at North Negro

TABLE 7.9--Total Sociometric Choices, Percentage of Choices Made Within School, Total In-School Choices, and Percentage of In-School Choices Given to Other Race, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School Race Sex	Total Number of Choices Made	Per Cent of Choices In-School	Total Number of In-School Choices	Per Cent of In-School Choices Cross-Race
North Negro				
Negro Boys	1870	37.6	703	0.4
Negro Girls	2308	38.2	881	--
White Boys	16	6.2	1	100.0
White Girls	11	18.2	2	50.0
North Mixed				
Negro Boys	936	32.6	605	1.4
Negro Girls	1095	38.4	421	1.1
White Boys	1095	34.6	379	4.7
White Girls	1081	37.9	410	3.4
North White				
Negro Boys	113	15.9	18	27.7
Negro Girls	136	25.0	34	17.6
White Boys	2594	33.8	877	0.9
White Girls	3306	40.2	1331	0.1

High, the Negroes choose almost entirely among themselves, as they constitute ninety-nine per cent of the student body, and the whites direct friendship choices outside of the school.

Satisfaction With School

In this section of this chapter we will examine one final set of data which indicate how students feel about their high school.

In response to the question, "If you could attend any high school in your community, which one would you choose?," there were major differences between the races both within and among high schools. Data are presented in Table 7.10.

TABLE 7.10--Percentages of Students That Would Prefer to Attend a Different High School, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
North Negro	38.4	(487)	75.0	(4)	45.6	(698)	83.3	(6)
North Mixed	28.0	(380)	25.3	(468)	22.3	(378)	28.8	(411)
North White	35.6	(45)	6.3	(1016)	41.1	(56)	13.0	(1234)

For the white students, preference for some other school is lowest in North White High, and highest in North Negro High, with North Mixed High falling in the middle. The least discrepancy between Negro and white students in the same school is found in North Mixed High School. Again we would propose that this lack of difference might be explained by the existence of two social systems, with both groups feeling less racial pressure than in the other two schools. In North Negro and North White High Schools, we find the minority groups expressing the stronger preference for some other high school. The one case which does not seem to fit into our analytical scheme would be the Negro students in North Negro High, the school with the largest proportion of Negro students. The question that can be raised is why would these students, who are a majority, be so different from the majority white group in North White High? In part, the answer is supplied by comments from respondents in each school who chose to tell us why they preferred another school. Here again race is an important factor, but it operates differently for both Negro and white students in different schools.

For the Negro students in North Negro High, preference for some other school was stimulated by a desire for better school facilities and more extensive educational programs. It was not the result of feeling uncomfortable within the system but rather a reasonable request for the better things that are found in other high schools within the community. That is, Negro students that are a majority in a high school perceive that they are still a minority in the larger context of the community; predominantly white school systems are allocated a greater proportion of community resources.[6] The comments of one Negro girl in this school express this sentiment:

> It's an old school and it just does not have the same kind of things that you can find at C. . . . The classrooms are dark and the place is crowded. At C . . . they have all kinds of special programs for students in my field. Here there is nothing like that.

For the small group of white students in predominantly Negro school, preferences for some other school were clearly related to race, and feelings of alienation. As one white male in this school noted:

> I can't go anywhere else because I live in this district. I don't like it here. It is a school for colored kids and I don't like the way they push me around. I just go to class and then go home. I don't want any part of this place.

The Negro minority group in North White High mentions race as an important factor in explaining why they would prefer to go somewhere else. The comments of two Negro students in this school provide some insight as to what the Negro minority might feel within the social setting of a school:

> O. . . has too many race problems in my opinion.
> N. . . is mostly made up of my race. It doesn't have conflict the way O . . . has.

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[6] Sexton reports that the distribution of wealth among public schools in a large urban area, with the "depressed area" least likely to obtain experienced teachers, materials, and recent educational innovations," in part explains why students from lower socio-economic families have the poorest chance for academic success. See Patricia C. Sexton, Education and Income: Inequalities of Opportunity in Our Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1961).

> In some schools people are not friendly. This is one of the schools that are not friendly. I don't mean everyone, but the majority of them.

The white majority in this school was the most satisfied group of all, with only 10 per cent responding that they would rather go to another school. The North White High whites frequently mentioned the newness and high quality of their physical plant, and that their school is relatively free of Negroes. As one white student responded:

> It's new and I did not want to go to school with Negroes, and I heard a lot of good things about it.

Certain questions on the survey instrument were specifically designed to tap the dimensions of alienation from the social system of the students' high schools. The items were adapted from an article by Middleton.[7] Middleton found that dichotomized items measuring Seeman's[8] dimension of alienation were related to minority racial status and to low educational attainment--both conditions describing the Negro in American society. The following types of alienation were used.

Powerlessness.--This is defined by Seeman as ". . . the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."[9] Middleton used the following question: "There is not much we can do about most of the important problems that we face today."[10] Here, and with other dimensions of alienation, we will modify the item to relate specifically to the social system of the student's high school. The item used was:

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[7] Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 973-977.

[8] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 783-791.

> There are a few who control things in this school, and the rest of us are out in the cold.

Meaninglessness.--This dimension is defined by Seeman as a ". . . low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made."[11] For this dimension, Middleton's exact wording was used:

> Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on.[12]

Data on this item was not obtained for the two Southern schools.

Normlessness.--Here Middleton uses Merton and Seeman's usage, emphasizing that illegitmate means must be employed to realize culturally prescribed goals.[13] Middleton's item was: "In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right."[14] This item is modified to relate it to the social system of the high school:

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[9] Ibid., p. 784. Emphasized in text.

[10] Middleton, op. cit., p. 973.

[11] Seeman, op. cit., p. 786.

[12] Middleton, op. cit., p. 973.

[13] Ibid., p. 972; Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 149-153; Seeman, op. cit., pp. 787-788.

> If you want to be a part of a leading group around here, you sometimes have to go against your principles.

Cultural estrangement.--This dimension of alienation focuses on the individual's acceptance of popular culture. Middleton asked: "I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like."[15] Again, the item was modified to apply to the student's high school. Here, the following item was used.

> I am not interested in the school activities that most students seem to like.

Social estrangement, or isolation.--Here we use Middleton's distinction of having few social contacts, an unwelcome feeling of lack of companionship. For the Northern Schools, Middleton's items was used directly: "I often feel lonely."[16] For the Southern Schools: "I am often left out of things."

Estrangement from school.--This is an old theme in the literature on alienation, referring to the self-estrangement resulting from man's failing to realize his human capacities, and an absence of meaningful activity. Middleton asked: "I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to be able to get things I will want later."[17] Again, we modify the item to relate it to the high school, by using:

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[14] Middleton, op. cit., p. 973.

[15] Ibid., p. 974.

[16] Ibid.

> I don't enjoy my schoolwork, but I feel that I must do it in order to be able to get things I will want later.

Data on this was not obtained from the Southern schools.

These six items were run against a number of family background variables: presence of mother, presence of father, conjugal role reversal, father's education, father's occupation, and the quality orientation of the father's occupation. The correlations were in general positive, but were weak. The number of significantly positive correlations was not far removed from chance expectancy. Also, there were several weak negative relationships. Slightly stronger results were obtained for the presence of older siblings, though the relations were stronger only for two-sib families, as described in Chapter IV. The relations for both parents and siblings were weak as a model of independence, and even weaker as a model of variance. The conclusion is that family background characteristics exert a limited influence on alienation from the social system of the high school.

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[17] *Ibid.*

As with socio-economic background factors, and family structure, the racial composition and the region of the school were expected to have an affect on the incidence of alienation from the school. There was some between-school variations, but the overall results were again weak. Consequently, the data on alienation presented in Table 7.11 are collapsed for all schools.

There were weak and irregular tendencies for both Negro and white students to feel powerless and meaninglessness more in schools where they are numerical minorities. The reverse tendency, also weak and irregular, was found for cultural estrangement. For this dimension, the racial "out-group" were most interested in participating in the school activities. As was expected, the proportion of isolated, or socially estranged, students were greatest for race groups that are numerical minorities in their schools (cf. sociometric isolation in Chapter VI). No consistent relationship was found between estrangement from school and region and racial composition.

Within sex groups, the differences in proportions of students alienated were in general not significant between Negro and white students. The exception is estrangement from school: Within both sexes, girls were far more apt to feel that their school work was not enjoyable, but that they had to do it in order to obtain their goals. The proportions for this dimension of alienation were much

TABLE 7.11--Percentages of Students Alienated by Various Dimensions, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Dimension of Alienation	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Powerlessness	30	(1056)	40	(1868)	31	(1318)	38	(2239)
Meaninglessness	30	(971)	24	(1633)	43	(1165)	31	(1655)
Normlessness	42	(1059)	44	(2183)	36	(1043)	42	(2219)
Cultural Estrangement	32	(1129)	28	(2224)	36	(1391)	48	(1249)
Social Estrangement	33	(1108)	35	(1813)	40	(1354)	38	(2253)
Estrangement from School	19	(946)	33	(1580)	9	(1116)	22	(1613)

higher in the white group. Also, within race groups, boys were more estranged from their schoolwork than girls.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the above data is the high proportion of all students, in all race sex groups, that are personally alienated from their high schools. High proportions are found in students from all sorts of socio-economic backgrounds, in families of different structures, in schools with varied racial compositions and from different regions of the United States. A highly probable conclusion is that alienation is a result of the general structure of the American High School as a social institution. The data suggest alienation may be endemic to the American High School, and is not confined to "dropouts," "delinquents," or to ethnic or racial minorities.

From a valuational standpoint, this high level of alienation does not speak well for the quality of secondary education in the United States. Of course, the judgment does not in turn lead to a conclusion that American secondary education is inferior relative to that of other societies and of other cultures. Cross-cultural data would be necessary to test such an hypothesis.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to deal with the variable of race in a study of adolescents. More particularly we have been concerned with the problem of racial composition as a factor in the kinds of social systems which develop among Negro and white high school students. An initial proposition was that with changes in the proportion of Negroes entering a school, significant alterations would occur in the kinds of relationships that developed between and among both Negro and white students. The data presented here would appear to support this conceptualization. Obviously there are other factors within a school that could produce different kinds of results. Certainly the location of the school would be important. The history of the school system and the community in matters of race could be a salient factor. The role played by school personnel would be yet another variable that might influence the kinds of relationships that exist between students.

We are now ready to turn to the topic of the role socialization of students by their teachers.

CHAPTER VIII

ROLE SOCIALIZATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOL: TEACHERS AS SOCIALIZERS

In the first paragraph of this text it was stated that the American high school is an institution specifically designed to prepare adolescents for later performance of adult roles. As a socializing agent, the high school is specifically constructed to prepare students for educational and occupational role performance.

In this chapter, socialization in the school by teachers will be discussed. This will be an elaboration of the theory of socialization by parents, siblings, and peers presented in earlier chapters. Teachers will also be emphasized in Chapter X.

It is a generally accepted datum that Negro high school students receive less support for striving for educational (and occupational) goals than their white classmates. As was pointed out in Chapter VII, it is characteristic of American communities to provide less financial and other kinds of support for Negro high schools than for white high schools. In integrated schools, it is characteristic for faculty members, counsellors, and administrators to give less encouragement to Negro students to go on to college.

This is particularly evident in schools with predominantly white faculties.

These barriers present formidable problems to the Negro student, which are intensified by the fact that faculty integration nearly always lags behind student integration. In North White High School, there were only a handful of Negro teachers; at North Mixed High School, there were 20 Negro teachers and counsellors; at North Negro High School, there were 22 Negro teachers and counsellors.

In Chapter I, it was pointed out that there are systematic differences in the perceptions of Negro and white teachers by Negro and white students. Negro students find Negro teachers to be more adequate role socializers than white teachers. Negro students are apt to perceive that white teachers have ability to help them, i.e., to provide instrumental means, but do not provide expressive support. Data on this will be presented in Chapter X. A study by Gottlieb[1] has been cited to this effect: He found that white teachers perceive Negro students not to be goal oriented, and view them as "talkative," "lazy," and "rebellious." Negro teachers, on the other hand, perceived that the same Negro students were "happy,"

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[1] David Gottlieb, "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), pp. 345-353. This formulation is also consistent with the systems theory developed in this text. Since Negro boys are the most "retarded" group, we can expect that they would have difficulty establishing role relations with cross-race teachers.

"energetic," and "fun-loving." Both perceptions were hypothesized to be correct. In interacting with white teachers, Negro students are not goal oriented, as they perceive that those teachers lack desire to help them attain their goals. But in interacting with teachers of their own race, where they perceive both desire and support to help them, the Negro students are more goal oriented, and industrious.

In segregated schools, where Negro students perceive a lack of educational opportunities (e.g., at North Negro High School, and at South Negro High School), the result is an inadequate socialization of these students. In the Northern city from which the sample schools were selected, e.g., Negro seniors were found to be achieving at the Sophomore level, for the city-wide average achievement level. In addition, they are more handicapped financially.

The perceptual situation for Negro students, in which ". . . there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capabilities of members of the group to act in accord with them," is termed anomie by Merton.[2] Sprey uses a framework of anomie to explain race and sex differences in educational and occupational plans and aspirations. His results are consistent with the theoretical framework developed in this work.[3] This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[2] Robert K. Merton, "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 162.

It was shown in Chapter III that the role socialization of the Negro boy is beset with great difficulty. He lacks a central socializing referent, the father, to a great extent. Consequently, he comes to the school system with the most retarded level of social growth of any race sex group. In Chapter II, it was postulated that sociological retardation--according to the General Systems theory of growth in interpersonal systems--brings with it an inability to form integrated role relations with incumbents of unlike roles. In particular, the Negro boy has difficulty establishing cross-age, cross-sex, and cross-race roles, as age, sex, and race are the three most important criteria of role differentiation. The school system is structured so that the Negro boy, who is most in need of socializing referents, is provided with referents that he is least capable of interacting with and consequently learning to prepare for future roles of his own. That is, the Negro boy is confronted, in the grade school and to a lesser extent, in the high school, with teachers that are cross-age, cross-sex, and cross-race, i.e., white female teachers. Hence, the Negro boy finds that society has provided for him a role socializer with which he can interact only with great difficulty. He already comes from an environment that is, as we have seen, too "female."

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[3] Jetsy Sprey, "Sex Differences in Occupational Choice Patterns Among Negro Adolescents," Social Problems, 10 (1962), pp. 11-23.

Even in the cases where there are white male teachers for the Negro boy, considerable barriers to role socialization can be found. First of all, there are a set of norms diffused throughout American educational institutions that teachers should provide no peer interaction role models for students. On the one hand, this refers to the widespread norm that teachers should not _be_ peers in interacting with the student. On the other hand, this refers to the practice of teachers not interacting as peers _to each other_ in the presence of students. Shared masculine activity, e.g., drinking and smoking, and more important exchanges, are forbidden in front of students. This same-sex peer interaction is segregated from the students both sociologically and ecologically, and may often be carried on in the teachers' lounge or the mysterious "boiler room." The result of sealing off informal peer interaction between teachers deprives students, especially male students, of witnessing peer interaction between adult professional men, that could be of potential great benefit to male students, especially in light of the low quality orientation and visibility of the occupational roles of American husband-fathers. Cross-sex teacher-teacher interactions are even more taboo in the American high school than same-sex teacher interactions. The result of these normative taboos is that teachers do not function as peer interaction socializers for high school students.[4]

Hence, the role of teacher must be confined to the other major dimension of socialization, intentional instruction. Even in this dimension, the Negro boy student has the least adequate role models. Until high school, his teachers as mentioned, will be white female or Negro female. In high school, and often in late grade school, male teachers are introduced. The proportion of Negro teachers in a school generally lags behind the proportion of Negro students, however, so that white students have a higher proportion of same-race teachers than Negro students. Also, the most precocious Negro students are the most willing to go to high quality schools, which in most American cities means white high schools. Hence, the Negro male students with the greatest potential enter environments where they will obtain the fewest of the role socializers that could help them the most, i.e., the fewest Negro male teachers. Some consequences of this were discussed in Chapter I. Hanson's study of the District of Columbia, e.g., was cited regarding his finding that when Negro students go from a segregated to an integrated school, their performance relative to that of white students often deteriorates, though it generally improves absolutely.[5] The incoming Negro students, as we shall see in Chapter X, do not perceive that white teachers will willingly provide means for them to attain, and do not provide expressive support of their goals. Deprived of meaningful referents, and having difficulty in establishing role relations with white faculty members, the Negro student becomes alienated from his high school, and sees a lessened relationship between his classroom performance and his goals.

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[4] There is one notable exception. The coach is perhaps the only faculty member that interacts with male students on a peer basis. This factor undoubtedly is one cause of the great attraction of athletics to Negro adolescents, who go out for sports in the high school, in college, and as a profession, in numbers disproportionate to the numbers of Negroes in high schools and in the population at large. We saw in the last chapter that athletics are one of the first activities that Negro boys come to dominate in the process of school integration. There are of course other motivations for Negro participation, e.g., it is a means of vertical social mobility.

The lack of referents for Negro boys is also in evidence in the professional roles that Negro youth attempt to enter. Among white boys, typical professional roles that are idealized are medicine, law, and engineering (or physical science). Among Negro boys, however, roles that are typically sought are social work, teaching, entertainment, and professional athletics. Many Negro students were unable to even define their "ideal" occupation. Of course, there is an economic factor at work. But there are economic factors and institutional barriers to social work, teaching, and even entertainment (thought they are lower) just as with the higher status occupations white boys seek. The point to be made here is that there is also a non-structural explanation of the difference in occupational plans and aspirations.

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[5] Carl F. Hanson, "The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools in the District of Columbia," Harvard Educational Review, 30 (1960), pp. 216-236.

First of all, social work, teaching, and entertainment are occupations that have relatively high expressive components, and are participated in by females. Since the Negro boy does not have an adequate set of male socializers, and is placed in positions where females are his main socializers, the roles he can model and imagine himself in, and see being carried out, are roles that are occupied by women. As a result of this, these are the kinds of roles that he prepares to invest in, and is capable of succeeding in.

A second sociological factor is that social work and teaching are occupations that do not demand peer interaction on the part of the role incumbent. The practice of law and engineering, and to some extent, medicine, require a great deal of peer interaction.

Though social policy is not the immediate purpose of this research, there are policy implications in the above statements and the theoretical structure from which they have been generated. It is manifestly clear that the educational, occupational, and general social career mobility of the American Negro, especially the boy, would be greatly facilitated by providing him with an adequate set of socializers. In particular, with adult male Negro socializers. Male teachers should be provided at a younger age, for both

Negro and white boys. When schools integrate, the faculties too should be integrated so that Negro boys will not be stripped of the few role socializers they have. Also, the normative structure of peer interactions between teachers and students, and between teachers and teachers, have unfortunate latent disfunctions for the socialization of male students of both races. These norms should be re-examined, in terms of the ultimate purpose of the American high school, the role socialization of youth to attain adult educational, occupational, and social roles in the community and the society.

Data on the perceptions of teachers by students in the sample high schools was obtained for various questions on the survey instrument. First of all, the students who stated they did not intend to go to college were asked:

> If you do not intend to go to college, what are the important reasons why?

One pre-coded response offered to this question was, "My teachers haven't encouraged me." From the discussion in this chapter, it can be expected that the racial composition of the school influences the attitudes of students to their teachers. Negro boys and girls should be expected to perceive the most encouragement to go to college at North Negro High, where the proportion of Negro teachers is greatest, and least at North White High, where the proportion of Negro teachers is least. Similarly, white boys and girls should find the most encouragement at North White High, where there are white teachers and the least encouragement at North Negro High, where the proportion of white teachers is least. In general, students of a given race should perceive the most encouragement from same-race teachers. Data are presented in Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1--Percentages of Students Reponding That "My Teachers Haven't Encouraged Me" is a Reason for Not Intending to Go to College, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
School	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
North Negro	0.9	(463)	1.1	(555)	11.1	(9)	0.0	(5)
North Mixed	3.5	(143)	1.8	(215)	8.2	(339)	1.8	(326)
North White	8.3	(12)	22.6	(31)	4.1	(604)	1.8	(902)
All Schools	1.6	(618)	2.1	(801)	5.7	(952)	1.8	(1233)

Positive results were in general obtained in the above table. The predicted rank ordering was followed perfectly for Negro boys, Negro girls, and white boys. None of the five white girls at North Negro gave lack of teacher encouragement as a reason for not going to college. A difference of one response would have changed this per cent, and the rank orderings for Negro boys and white boys as well.

Further data on the perceptions of teachers by students was obtained from the question on which high school students would pick, if they had their choice. "Good teachers" was used as a code for the open-ended responses to that question. The data for students that responded they prefer their present high school are presented in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2--Percentages of Students Reponding that "Good Teachers" are a Reason for Choosing Their Present High School as a First Preference, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
School	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
North Negro	18.3	(196)	23.2	(255)	0.0	(2)	0.0	(3)
North Mixed	14.4	(146)	21.6	(194)	16.4	(280)	25.5	(259)
North White	20.7	(29)	10.5	(38)	25.1	(770)	31.2	(910)
All Schools	17.0	(371)	21.2	(527)	22.7	(1052)	29.9	(1172)

These data follow a pattern similar to that found for responses to lack of teacher encouragement for not going to college. Here, the propensity to respond that "Good teachers" are a reason for choosing the present high school is directly proportional to the proportion of same-race teachers in the school. The exception to this generalization is the Negro boys at North White High School.

Within race groups, girls evaluate their teachers more highly than boys. Within sex groups, whites evaluate their teachers more highly than Negroes.

More detailed information on the perception and evaluation of teachers by the students in the sample high schools was obtained in responses to the following question:

> "Which of the items below fit most of the teachers here at school?

Data on this item are presented in Table 8.3.

White male teachers were in general the most admired and respected group. This could be expected, as white male teachers are the best educated, have the most teaching experience, have the highest status, and are relatively numerous in the sample high schools.

There were between-school variations in how frequently Negro and white teachers were mentioned by each race sex group of students.

Negro boys choose Negro teachers less as the number of Negro teachers in the school decreases. Similarly, as the number of white teachers decreases, responses given to them decreases, though the change is weak.

Negro girls choose female teachers more than Negro boys. In all three schools, Negro girls have more admiration and respect for their teachers than do Negro boys.

White boys choose Negro teachers infrequently. Their tendency to choose white male teachers is pronounced: The three highest percentages in Table 8.3 are represented by their choices given to white male teachers in the three schools.

White girls also choose Negro teachers infrequently. Girls in both race groups choose teachers more than boys of the same race.

TABLE 8.3--Percentages of Students Choosing Negro and White Teachers as One of Three Most Admired and Respected People, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race Sex	Teacher	North Negro		North Mixed		North White		All Schools	
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys	Negro Males	4	(560)	4	(283)	3	(39)	4	(882)
	Negro Females	3		2		0		3	
	White Males	10		10		5		10	
	White Females	2		2		5		2	
White Boys	Negro Males	0	(4)	.4	(462)	1	(1075)	1	(1541)
	Negro Females	0		.8		.5		1	
	White Males	25		18		13		14	
	White Females	0		4		3		3	
Negro Girls	Negro Males	6	(907)	5	(445)	0	(53)	6	(1405)
	Negro Females	5		2		2		4	
	White Males	5		7		8		6	
	White Females	5		6		2		5	
White Girls	Negro Males	0	(9)	2	(499)	.8	(1518)	1	(2026)
	Negro Females	0		2		.3		1	
	White Males	0		10		9		9	
	White Females	11		13		9		10	

In Chapter X, special emphasis will be given to teachers in the socialization of students to the attainment of educational and occupational goals. Before turning to the interactions between students and various referents with respect to these goals, we will first discuss in some detail the educational and occupational plans and aspirations of Negro and white students. This will be the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PLANS AND ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE YOUTH

Academic Performance in the High School

In previous chapters, we have focused on the socialization process in terms of the learning of modal roles--age, sex, and race. More specific roles are learned by much the same processes, by interaction with the same set of reference groups. The rest of this text will consist of an examination of how educational and occupational goals are attained by the adolescent. Educational and occupational aspirations and expectations will be examined in a context of interaction within the family, the peer group, and the school.

The attainment of high occupational status generally comes about through education. The highest occupational statuses accrue to those who gain the technical and social skills necessary for the performance of complex and socially useful jobs. The attainment of these skills requires increasing amounts of education. Consequently, the high school students who will achieve the most are those who are enrolled in College Preparatory programs, as opposed to Vocational, Commercial, and General curricula.

Before proceeding with our examination of the academic programs and achievements of high school students in our sample, we will return to the role theory developed earlier in the text. This will enable predictions to be made on the basis of racial, sexual, and regional differences.

From the role theory developed to this point, notably that of Chapter III, it has been postulated that girls are socialized more adequately than boys, and that Caucasians are socialized more adequately than Negroes, and that Caucasian boys perform better relative to Caucasion girls than Negro boys perform relative to Negro girls. These propositions have received some support for the learning of modal patterns of sex, race, and age role behavior and adjustment. These racial and sexual differences are here hypothesized to be extensile to socialization to more specific occupational and educational roles. An important study by Sprey adds considerable evidence to the theoretical conclusions drawn in this text.[1] In his study of two integrated high schools with Negro minorities, Sprey found that

> Negro boys, as a category, showed significantly lower levels of curriculum enrollment than whites in corresponding socio-economic categories, but also differed in their aspirations from the latter. Negro girls, on the other hand, did not differ from whites in any of the above aspects.[2]

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[1] Jetse Sprey, "Sex Differences in Occupational Choice Patterns Among Negro Adolescents," Social Problems, 10 (1962), pp. 11-23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

In the discussion of the data, which is entirely consistent with the above remarks, Sprey found the concept of anomie to be a useful explanatory tool. He wrote:

> The total Negro minority is exposed to a condition of anomie; but the Negro male faces a more unbalanced set of role expectations than his female counterpart. In a society in which the husband is still supposed to be the main economic support the Negro male faces a difficult problem in fulfilling his obligations as a husband and a father.[3]

The relative inadequacy of the Negro male parent as a role socializer was examined in some detail in Chapter III, in the section entitled "Race and the Structure of Sex Roles in the American Family." The limitations of the Negro male parent as a role socializer are even more characteristic of the Southern than other regions. In the South, ". . . the Negro male has traditionally been prevented from acting as the protector of his family, and has been forced to leave the more militant types of resistance against the minority situation of his group to the Negro woman."[4]

In Chapter I, research evidence on the relative performance and aspirations of Negro and white high school students was reviewed. Before turning directly to data on the academic curricula, grades, and plans and aspirations, we will briefly re-emphasize this earlier presentation.

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[3] Ibid., p. 19.

[4] Ibid. A reference is made to E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 221. Also see Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, The Family: From Institution to Companionship (New York: American Book Company, 1945), p. 161; Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South (New York: The Viking Press, 1953), p. 147; Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression: Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1951); Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 335.

There is impressive evidence that Negro students perform at a lower level than white students in the American high school. This is evidenced, e.g., by grade point average and by curriculum enrollment. Ferrell, e.g., found that white students score significantly higher in several areas of academic achievement.[5] Osborn supports this finding, and in addition determined that the relative performance of whites increases over increasing age.[6]

At the same time, many studies have indicated that there are no significant differences in the aspirational levels of Negro and white students. Some studies have in fact found that Negro students have higher aspirations than white students.[7]

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[5] Guy V. Ferrel, "A Comparative Study of Sex Differences in School Achievement of White and Negro Children," Journal of Educational Research, 43 (1949), pp. 116-121. Also see Paul Mussen, "Differences Between the TAT Responses of Negro and White Boys," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 17 (1953), pp. 373-376.

[6] R. T. Osborn, "Racial Differences in Mental Growth and School Achievement: A Longitudinal Study," Psychological Reports, 7 (1960), pp. 233-239.

[7] Anotonovsky and Lerner found no racial differences in a desire to "get ahead." A. Anotonovosky and M. Lerner, Negro and White Youth in Elmira (New York: State Commission Against Discrimination, 1957). The following study found Negro youth to have higher aspirational levels than whites: G. F. Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro

Negro youth are more apt to be enrolled in Vocational, General, or other non-college preparatory curricula. St. John, e.g., in a study of two predominantly white high schools, found Negroes to be far less apt to be enrolled in a college program, and far more apt to be in a General program.[8]

Data on the curricula of Negro and white boys and girls in the sample schools are presented in Table 9.1.

The data in this table reveal that the Negro students are less apt to be enrolled in a College curriculum than white students. This result was pronounced for the South, but weak and not significant for the North.

Within each race group, boys are more apt to have a college preparatory curriculum than girls. The percentages for girls relative to boys is much higher in the Negro group, as expected, as girls are socialized more adequately relative to boys in the Negro race group.[9]

The data in Table 9.1 for students in a General program are also consistent with St. John.[10] In both regions, Negroes are more apt to be enrolled in a General curriculum. In the South, girls are more apt to have a General program

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Children in a Non-Segregated Elementary School," Journal of Social Psychology, 36 (1952), pp. 191-196. This result was also found in studies cited in Chapter I by Morse (ff 20), Green (ff 19), and Holloway and Berreman (ff 18).

[8] Nancy Hoyt St. John, "De Facto Segretation and Interracial Association in High School," Sociology of Education, 37 (1964), p. 332. Negro students were also found tc score lower on Otis IQ and on grade point average.

[9] Sprey, op. cit.

[10] St. John, op. cit.

TABLE 9.1--Percentages of Students in Various High School Curricula, and Grade Averages* for Each Curriculum, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

School	College		Commercial		Vocational		General		Total	
Race Sex	%	(Gr.)	%	(Gr.)	%	(Gr.)	%	(Gr.)	%	(N)
South Negro										
Negro Boys	19	(2.4)	8	(2.3)	22	(2.2)	50	(2.6)	99	(95)
Negro Girls	22	(2.3)	15	(2.2)	10	(2.1)	63	(2.3)	100	(107)
South White										
White Boys	58	(2.5)	3	(1.7)	7	(2.1)	32	(2.2)	100	(463)
White Girls	49	(2.6)	9	(2.1)	7	(2.2)	35	(2.2)	100	(487)
North Negro										
Negro Boys	36	(2.6)	21	(2.3)	3	(2.4)	40	(2.2)	100	(780)
White Boys	22	(3.5)	11	(2.0)	11	(2.0)	56	(2.4)	100	(9)
Negro Girls	30	(2.5)	49	(2.4)	1	(2.7)	20	(2.2)	100	(860)
White Girls	57	(3.0)	14	(2.0)	--	--	29	(2.0)	100	(7)
North Mixed										
Negro Boys	30	(2.4)	20	(2.0)	25	(2.1)	25	(2.0)	100	(393)
White Boys	32	(2.5)	15	(2.2)	28	(2.3)	25	(2.0)	100	(524)
Negro Girls	28	(2.5)	42	(2.3)	11	(2.2)	18	(1.9)	100	(429)
White Girls	17	(3.0)	57	(2.4)	17	(2.5)	9	(1.9)	100	(435)
North White										
Negro Boys	47	(2.2)	8	(1.8)	8	(1.5)	38	(2.0)	101	(53)
White Boys	49	(2.6)	6	(2.2)	9	(2.1)	36	(1.9)	100	(1181)
Negro Girls	43	(2.5)	40	(2.2)	3	(2.0)	14	(2.0)	100	(58)
White Girls	34	(3.0)	41	(2.4)	2	(2.4)	23	(2.1)	100	(1297)

*Note: A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1; where A is the highest grade.

than boys. In the North, however, boys of both races are more apt to be in such a program than girls of the same race group.

Since good grades indicate performance that will lead to admission to college, and is correlated with success in college, it can be expected that the race sex group that is most adequately socialized will have the highest academic grades, and that the group that is least adequately socialized will have the lowest academic grades. The theory developed in this text has lead to the conclusion that white girls are most adequately socialized, and that Negro boys the least. Hence, we can expect white girls to have the highest grades and Negro boys to have the poorest. The results obtained are consistent with this prediction. Of the college-bound students, Negro boys have the lowest grades and white girls have the highest. This finding is more explicitly expressed in Table 9.2.

In all regions and schools but South Negro High School, college bound students have higher grades than non-college students. Within race groups and regions, there is a greater difference in grades and curriculum for girls than for boys. In general, there is also a higher relationship between the two variables for white students. This could in part be explained by the fact that there are racial barriers to college admission to the Negro group. Where the barriers are greatest, in the South, the relationship is not only reduced, it is reversed.

TABLE 9.2--Average Academic Grades for College Preparatory and Non-College Preparatory Curricula, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Region Curriculum	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
North				
College	2.52	2.54	2.52	3.04
Non-College	2.16	2.05	2.24	2.34
Number	(1126)	(1347)	(1714)	(1689)
South				
College	2.33	2.26	2.49	2.62
Non-College	2.42	2.30	2.11	2.15
Number	(95)	(107)	(463)	(487)

The data in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 show that, within races, girls have higher grades than boys. The exception is South Negro High School. Within sexes, white students have higher grades than Negro students at North Mixed and North White High Schools. The data for North Negro High, where there is information for 16 of 17 high school students in the sample, the results are mixed and non-significant. Comparisons of races within sex groups are, of course, not possible in the two racially segregated Southern schools.

We have seen that the curricula of race sex groups of students in various situations are predictible from the role theory developed in this text. The low performance of Negro boys, e.g., can be in part explained by the inadequacy of their fathers to provide role socialization for instrumental activity. Certainly college plans require a highly instrumental orientation. In fact, the college curriculum is weighted with subjects that are high on instrumental and cognitive factors, and low on expressive and emotional factors. Boys that like science and mathematics courses are the most instrumentally oriented, and will be the most apt to go to college. Girls, on the other hand, will enter college to prepare for more expressive roles: English, home economics, foreign languages, music, and art are subjects girls characteristically choose as their "favorite."

From our theory of role socialization, we can expect that Negro boys will be less apt to choose instrumental subjects, such as science and mathematics, as their favorites, when compared to white boys. Also, Negro boys should be more apt to choose expressive subject, such as English, music, and art, than white boys. Similarly, it is hypothesized that Negro girls will be more apt to choose instrumental subjects than white girls, and less apt to choose expressive subjects.

The data are inadequate in that subjects are not inherently instrumental or expressive, e.g., music could be instrumental to a career for a Negro boy. Instrumentality and expressiveness refer to orientations to objects, not to the objects.

Data on the favorite subjects of students are presented in Table 9.3.

The hypothesis that Negro boys will choose less instrumental subjects than white boys is not strongly supported. In two of the three schools, the percentages are higher for Negro boys, but the differences are not large.

Stronger results are found in support of the hypothesis that Negro boys will choose expressive subjects more often than white boys. This is found to be the case in all three schools, and two of the differences are significant.

Negro girls show a weak tendency to choose instrumental subjects more frequently than white girls. The hypothesis is upheld at North Mixed and North White High Schools. The negative result at Norther Negro High is not significant.

The results on Negro and white girls choosing expressively oriented subjects are also weak. In general, Negro girls choose English, music, and art more, but choose home economics less than white girls.

A limited amount of support for the general role reversal hypothesis is provided by the above data.

The performance and achievement motivation of students are influenced by role expectations in the social systems of the high schools, and of the role expectations of society at

TABLE 9.3--Percentages of Students Reponding to Various Subjects as Their "Best Liked," by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Best Liked Subjects	South Negro High School		South White High School		North Negro High School			
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Science	30	27	38	26	32	50	23	57
Mathematics	30	25	50	31	31	25	21	29
Social Science	24	21	21	17	33	62	27	43
English	24	32	21	39	25	25	48	43
Home Economics	--	19	--	22	--	--	19	29
Physical Education	32	33	39	28	31	38	27	14
Foreign Languages	3	5	7	24	12	25	17	14
Music or Art	33	17	19	33	41	38	41	43
Number	(205)	(262)	(436)	(470)	(790)	(8)	(869)	(7)

	North Mixed High School				North White High School			
	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Science	32	30	22	22	36	31	30	18
Mathematics	26	24	19	17	17	28	26	19
Social Science	31	27	22	20	28	25	23	20
English	23	16	37	38	26	16	47	40
Home Economics	--	--	25	27	--	--	23	22
Physical Education	39	26	23	21	43	37	40	29
Foreign Languages	8	5	10	9	11	6	12	14
Music or Art	30	19	35	30	34	17	34	26
Number	(402)	(525)	(422)	(432)	(53)	(1203)	(57)	(1248)

large. In particular, performance and achievement motivation can be expected to be related to sex and race roles.

Coleman has shown that the girls' status systems place few rewards on an intellectual orientation.[11] At the same time, girls are encouraged by adults to attain high grades, which they do.[12] The data, in Table 9.1, e.g., show that, within race groups, girls generally attain higher academic grades than boys.

The two role expectations of non-intellectual orientation and concomitant high performance results in conflicting role demands for the adolescent girls. (This role conflict is also a problem for boys to some extent.) The dilemma is resolved by getting good grades but not performing in an outstanding way or appearing to be a "brain."[13] Hence, the dilemma is rather easily resolved by the American high school student, especially the girl. For teachers, parents, and peers do not encourage genuine intellectual achievement.

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[11] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 252-254.

[12] See, e.g., Alan B. Wilson, "Social Stratification and Academic Achievement," in Harry Passow, ed., Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).

[13] Edward L. McDill and James Coleman, "High School Social Status, College Plans, and Interest in Academic Achievement: A Panel Analysis," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 917 ff.

The student is rewarded not for questioning intellectual activity, but for conforming to the norms of inocuous but well-packaged output. On this, McDill and Coleman write," . . . scholastic achievement in elementary and high school is largely gained by conformity and not by intellectual ferment," and that ". . . being a brilliant student . . . is associated with childhood, with good grades and gold stars dispensed by teachers."[14]

Hence, a desire to be known as a "Brilliant student" in the American high school is more closely related to performance as measured by grades than to intellectuality. The data from the sample high schools show that girls have a higher achievement orientation than boys, when high achievement orientation is measured by this item:

> If you could be remembered here at school for one of these three things, which would you want it to be?

A high achievement orientation is based on a response of "Brilliant student" to this question, for both boys and girls. Data for the sample schools are presented in Table 9.4.

Within each race group in every school, girls have higher achievement orientation than boys. Girls are slightly more achievement oriented relative to boys in the Negro race group than in the white group, as can be expected, as girls are more instrumental relative to boys in the Negro group, and achievement orientation is a measure of instrumentality.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 918.

TABLE 9.4--Percentages of Students With High Achievement Orientation, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
School	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
South Negro	55.0	(185)	60.8	(245)	--	--	--	--
South White	--	--	--	--	37.0	(589)	40.1	(611)
North Negro	45.6	(766)	59.8	(861)	75.0	(8)	83.3	(6)
North Mixed	37.5	(397)	55.6	(417)	34.4	(505)	54.9	(421)
North White	38.5	(52)	54.4	(57)	38.5	(1184)	39.9	(1222)

This consistent sex difference persists when actual performance is controlled for. This result also obtained in all five schools. Data for North Mixed High School, which are representative, are presented in Table 9.5.

When grades are controlled for, girls of a given race still have a higher achievement orientation than boys of the same race. The one exception to this generalization is found in the "B" students of the white race group.

According to the remarks cited in McDill and Coleman, and made in the preceeding several paragraphs, we should

TABLE 9.5--Percentages of Students With High Achievement Orientation, by Academic Grades, Race and Sex: North Mixed High School.

	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
Academic Grades	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Excellent = A	67	(6)	82	(17)	53	(15)	70	(28)
Good = B	38	(105)	60	(108)	60	(164)	56	(160)
Average = C	37	(231)	51	(255)	39	(276)	54	(183)
Poor = D	32	(50)	55	(28)	42	(50)	47	(40)

expect that, even though girls have a higher achievement orientation than boys, the relationship between achievement orientation and grades should be smaller for girls than for boys. That is, girls should have a lower propensity to relate grades to being a "Brilliant student" than boys, for they are concomitantly expected to obtain good grades and not desire to appear to be brilliant.

Here, high achievement orientation will be defined as before. Grades will be dichotomized, with an "A" or "B" average defined as "High," and a "C" or "D" average defined as "Low." Data, for North Mixed High School, are presented in Table 9.6.

The hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 9.6. The associations between achievement orientation and grade, as predicted, are higher for boys than for girls.

Since girls are more instrumental relative to boys in the Negro group than in the white group, we can further expect that the difference between boys and girls should be lower, if not reversed, within the Negro race group. That is, we can expect the Negro girls to be more instrumental, and less expressive, than white girls. Consequently, they should have less need to reduce the "dilemma" of resolving the female-expressive role with Performance. Data on this are prsented in Table 9.7.

Controlling for race changes the association achievement orientation and grades in the predicted direction.

TABLE 9.6--Associations Between Achievement Orientation and Academic Grades, by Sex: North Mixed High School.

Achievement Orientation	Boys			Achievement Orientation	Girls		
	Grades				Grades		
	High	Low	Total		High	Low	Total
High	150	140	290	High	195	130	325
Low	232	373	605	Low	265	240	505
Total	382	513	895	Total	460	370	830
	Ø =.14**,Ø/Ømax =.17 Ø max = .81, Q =.26				Ø =.07*,Ø/Ø max = .09 Ø max = .80, Q = .16		

TABLE 9.7--Associations Between Achievement Orientation and Academic Grades, by Race and Sex: North Mixed High School.

Achievement Orientation	Grades			Achievement Orientation	Grades		
	High	Low	Total		High	Low	Total
	Negro Boys				Negro Girls		
High	44	67	111	High	79	46	125
Low	102	177	279	Low	152	141	293
Total	146	244	390	Total	231	187	418
	Ø = .02, Ø/Ømax = .03 Ø max. 82, Q = .06				Ø = .10*, Ø/Ømax = .14 Ø max .73, @ = .22		
	White Boys				White Girls		
High	106	73	179	High	116	84	200
Low	130	196	326	Low	113	99	212
Total	236	269	505	Total	229	183	412
	Ø = .18**,Ø/Ømax =.30 Ø max = .62, Q =.37				Ø = .05, Ø/Ømax = .05 Ø max = .92, Q = .09		

The sex role reversal of the Negro adolescents is apparent from the results of the preceding table. Negro girls have higher associations between the two variables than Negro boys, indicating that they are in this respect more instrumentally oriented to their performance than are Negro boys. The association is statistically significant for the Negro girls but not for the Negro boys. In the white group, where the roles are not reversed, the association is significant at the .01 level for boys, but is not significant for girls.

Educational Plans and Aspirations

The high school prepares the adolescent for a possible college education. As youth progress through the grades of the high school, some attrition can be expected on these college plans. This attrition will wash some students into other programs, or out of the high school altogether. Low grades, low potential, and a host of structural and psychological factors are involved in career plans.

It can be expected that the white student receives better preparation before coming to the high school, in grade school, in junior high school, and in the home and peer group. Hence, Negro youth are more dependent on the high school itself for developing interest in college. At the same time there are barriers to the Negro race. By the senior year, when the Negro students are faced with applying to college, arranging finances, etc., they can be expected to adjust their ambitions to the socio-economic facts of life, and change to Commercial, Vocational, and General curricula.

Data relating the curricula of Negro and white boys to their grade in school are presented in Table 9.8.

None of these relationships are statistically significant. Consequently, any inferences from the data are to be highly tentative. Negro students in general increase in College enrollment from the Sophomore to the Junior years. White students also attain their maximum at the Junior year, but in general decrease from the Sophomore to the Senior years. From the Junior to the Senior years, there is an increase in the Vocational curriculum for the Negro group. This is apparently an alternative to college for the Negro adolescent.

Another set of data can be constructed to give some insight into the idea that Negro youth will perceive barriers in the school and in society to their possible college ambitions. The Negro group, because of these barriers, can be expected to have a smaller relationship between aspirations of going to college, and an expectation that they will do so. That is, there should be a larger gap in cultural goals and the socially structured capabilities to attain these goals in the Negro group. This is, of course, the perceptual condition of _anomie_, as used by Sprey.[15] This

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[15] Sprey, _op. cit_., p. 12.

TABLE 9.8--Percentages of Students Enrolled in a College Curriculum, by Grade, for Negro and White Boys: All Schools.

	South Negro		North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
Grade	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
			Negro Boys					
Sophomore	35.3	(17)	33.2	(280)	24.8	(129)	50.0	(30)
Junior	14.3	(7)	39.0	(264)	32.9	(164)	38.5	(113)
Senior	37.5	(16)	34.5	(252)	29.4	(102)	50.0	(10)
$X^2(2)$	--	--	2.17	n.s.	2.30	n.s.	.52	n.s.
	South White		White Boys					
Sophomore	65.0	(103)	66.7	(3)	30.2	(172)	49.0	(469)
Junior	58.2	(141)	--	(2)	34.2	(202)	48.5	(435)
Senior	62.3	(114)	--	(4)	29.6	(152)	47.5	(305)
$X^2(2)$	1.55	n.s.	--	--	1.04	n.s.	.17	n.s.

conceptualization will be elaborated in the final section of this chapter.

A measure of association (phi) was computed between the college plans and college aspirations, by dichotomizing as "College" and "Non-College" the responses to the following two questions:

> If you had your choice, what would you like to do after you leave high school?
>
> What do you think you really will do after you leave high school?

The phi coefficients between college aspirations and college plans are presented in Table 9.9. A low coefficient is an index of anomie.

TABLE 9.9--Phi Coefficients Between College Plans and College Aspirations, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

School	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
South Negro	.45*	(202)	--	--	.63**	(262)	--	--
South White	--	--	.65**	(598)	--	--	.74**	(602)
North Negro	.58**	(749)	.00	(9)	.71**	(808)	1.00	(6)
North Mixed	.64**	(367)	.74**	(492)	.71**	(410)	.75**	(404)
North White	.74**	(48)	.72**	(1129)	.64**	(58)	.80**	(1205)

The above data reveal that the least successfully socialized groups are the most anomic, i.e., they have the lowest *phi* coefficients. Although there are exceptions, white girls have the highest coefficients, and Negro boys the lowest. Within race groups, girls have higher coefficients than boys; within sex group, whites have higher coefficients than Negroes. The lowest correlations occur in the Southern schools, for all four race sex groups. The gap between Negro boys and Negro girls is greatest in the South. These results are consistent with Sprey, and with the theory developed in this text.

Occupational Plans and Aspirations

A set of questions were presented to the students to provide information on the relationships between occupational plans and aspirations of Negro and white boys and girls.

First of all, occupational plans were determined by responses to the following question:

> What kind of work do you plan to go into when you finish *all* of your schooling? Be as specific about the job as you can. Please give the job rather than *where* you want to work.

The emphasis on job rather than industry or employer was used to counteract the well-known phenomena of people from relatively low occupational statuses to respond to where they work rather than what they do at work.

Students in the two Southern schools did not give very codeable responses to the questions on their occupational plans and aspirations. Consequently, their answers were not coded on the usual seven-point scale, but on a five-point scale. Data on the occupational plans of the Southern Negro and white boys are presented in Table 9.10. The question was not asked of the Southern girls. In later tables, the Elite and Middle classes will be considered "White Collar" and the other three, "Blue Collar."

TABLE 9.10--Percentages of Students Planning to Go Into Various Occupational Classes, for Boys, by Race: Southern Schools.

Occupational Class	South Negro High School	South White High School
	Negro Boys	White Boys
Elite Class	34.4	60.6
Middle Class	23.1	17.0
Elite Working Class	7.5	6.7
Respectible Working Class	23.1	11.1
Low Status	6.9	4.6
Total per cent	100.0	100.0
Total number	(160)	(477)

The Southern white boys' occupational plans are significantly higher than those of the Southern Negro boys.

Data on the occupational plans of the Northern students are presented in Table 9.11. Since there were few significant between-school variations, the data for the three schools are collapsed.

TABLE 9.11--Percentages of Students Planning to Enter Various Occupational Categories, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Occupational Category	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Professional, technical	63.5	59.7	51.1	34.5
Proprieters, managers	4.2	4.6	1.2	1.5
Clerical, sales	5.7	4.9	32.4	44.1
Craftsmen, foremen	21.3	21.6	3.4	1.3
Operatives	1.8	3.0	1.5	1.7
Service workers	2.5	4.9	10.2	16.8
Laborers	1.0	1.3	.2	.1
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	(920)	(1396)	(1195)	(1514)

Within sex groups, the differences in occupational plans are small. Within race groups, boys plan to go into higher categories than girls. For boys, professional and technical, and craftsmen and foremen are the most frequent responses. The responses of girls are less for professional and technical, but greater for clerical and sales, and service occupations.

The scales used in the Northern and Southern schools have limited comparability. It can be observed, however, that within the boys groups, Negroes have higher occupational plans relative to whites in the North. The highest occupational plans for all four race sex groups occurs at North Negro High School.

Apart from the absolute levels of the students' occupational plans, we can compare their occupational plans with their fathers' occupations. This gives a measure of perceived intergenerational occupational mobility. The mobility will be measured both for White Collar and Blue Collar fathers. Here, White Collar will refer to two categories: proprieters, managers, and officials, and clerical sales, and kindred workers. Professionals and semi-professionals will be omitted, as it is not possible for the student to aspire to a category above this highest category. Blue Collar will refer to the remaining four categories: Craftsmen and foremen, operatives, service workers, and laborers. The data are presented in Table 9.12.

In all race sex groups, students with Blue Collar fathers perceive they will attain higher upward occupational mobility than students with White Collar fathers. Students with Blue Collar fathers, of course, have more rooms for mobility, as they can advance to higher Blue Collar occupations, plus all White Collar occupations, whereas students with White Collar fathers can advance only to higher White Collar levels.

In the North, when sex and the father's level are controlled for, racial differences are relatively small. Negro boys in the North in general anticipate more upward occupational mobility than white boys. In the South, however, white boys of both levels expect to attain more upward mobility than Negro boys.

TABLE 9.12--Percentages of Students With Occupational Plans Higher Than Their Father's Occupational Category: All Schools.

Region Father's Level	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
South								
White Collar	50.0	(6)	72.6	(102)	--	--	--	--
Blue Collar	76.6	(77)	78.4	(278)	--	--	--	--
All Levels	74.7	(83)	76.8	(380)	--	--	--	--
North								
White Collar	75.9	(54)	45.5	(325)	50.7	(75)	44.5	(247)
Blue Collar	77.8	(522)	78.9	(928)	69.2	(623)	70.0	(1048)
All Levels	77.6	(576)	73.5	(1253)	65.8	(698)	65.3	(1295)

The students' occupational plans can also be compared to their occupational aspirations. Occupational aspirations were determined by responses to the following question:

> If you were completely free to go into any kind of work you wanted to, what occupation would you choose? Give the job, not the place of work?

Responses to this question, as with the data presented in Table 9.12, showed little between-school variation in the Northern schools. Consequently, the data for the Northern schools in Table 9.13 are also collapsed by school.

The data in Table 9.13 can be viewed as an index of anticipated frustration in striving for occupational aspirations. The groups that are the most inadequately socialized can be expected to perceive that they will have the most difficulty realizing their goals. Hence, our theoretical structure leads to the prediction that white girls will have the lowest per cents, and Negro boys the highest. Both of these results are obtained. Further, since girls are socialized more successfully than boys, and whites more successfully than Negroes, we can expect that, within race group, girls will have lower per cents than boys. This result is also obtained, with the exception of Northern Blue Collar Negroes. It is also anticipated that, within sex groups, Negroes will have higher per cents than whites. This is found to be the case, with the exceptions of White Collar girls in the North, and Blue Collar boys in the South.

TABLE 9.13--Percentages of Students With Occupational Aspirations Higher than Their Occupational Plans, by Race, Sex, and Planned Occupational Class: All Schools.

Region Occupational Plans	Negro Boys %	Negro Boys (N)	White Boys %	White Boys (N)	Negro Girls %	Negro Girls (N)	White Girls %	White Girls (N)
South								
White Collar	73.9	(46)	2.5	(81)	--	--	--	--
Blue Collar	14.0	(50)	16.2	(99)	--	--	--	--
All Levels	42.7	(96)	10.0	(180)	--	--	--	--
North								
White Collar	42.4	(59)	40.0	(100)	18.8	(303)	26.1	(593)
Blue Collar	28.2	(156)	26.7	(348)	35.2	(136)	25.3	(257)
All Levels	32.1	(215)	29.7	(448)	30.3	(439)	25.8	(850)

Of the students whose ideal occupations are different than their planned occupations, about 75 per cent of each race sex group gave an "ideal" occupation codeable in the "Professional" category. This statement, of course, excluded students whose plans are to become professionals.

The occupations of the students' fathers had some influence on both occupational plans and aspirations. Father's occupation was found to be moderately predictive of both high plans and aspirations. Contingency coefficients (with 36 d.f.) for these relationships are presented in Table 9.14.

Negro boys are the group most dependent on their father's occupational level for their own occupational plans and aspirations. Within each race group, boys have higher coefficients than girls. Within each sex group, Negroes have higher coefficients than whites.

Many studies of adolescent behavior have dealt with the interrelations of class and educational and occupational plans and aspirations.[16] Class has not been a focal point

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[16] Among important studies in this area: Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 203-211; E. Grand Youmans, "Social Factors in the Work Attitudes and Interests of Twelfth Grade Michigan Boys," Journal of Educational Sociology, 28 (1954), pp. 35-48; William H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 67-73; David Gottlieb, "Social Class, Achievement, and the College-Going Experience," School Review, 70 (1962), pp. 273-286; August Hollingshead, Elmstown's Youth (New York:

TABLE 9.14--Contingency Coefficients Between Father's Occupation, Planned Occupation, and Ideal Occupation, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Variables	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
	C	(N)	C	(N)	C	(N)	C	(N)
Father's Occupation and Planned Occupation	.29*	(613)	.18	(735)	.21**	(1241)	.16*	(1382)
Father's Occupation and Ideal Occupation	.29*	(472)	.18	(644)	.20*	(1182)	.19**	(1341)

of this research, though race, sex, age and other dimensions of social stratification have been used extensively. In general, these studies have indicated positive correlations between high social class and high educational and occupational plans and aspirations; this is consistent with the data in Table 9.16.

Race and the Pursuit of Goals

The Negro population of the United States is exposed to be a condition of anomie. The Negro male, as has been demonstrated in numerous contexts, faces a more inadequate set of role expectations than the Negro female, and consequently experiences greater strain. We have seen that the Negro husband-father faces, as Sprey points out, " . . . a difficult problem in fulfilling his obligations. . . ."[17] This conceptualization was elaborated in great detail in Chapter III, and will not be rehashed here. It is sufficient to conclude that the Negro boy, as a result of his inadequate socialization, is the race sex group most apt to show personality symptoms that are reactions to anomie.

John Wiley and Sons, 1947); W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944); Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrill Lynd, Middletown: A Study in American Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1929); Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953), pp. 186-203.

[17] Sprey, op. cit.; a statement on changes in this situation is presented in Hylan Lewis, "The Changing Negro Family," in Eli Ginsberg, ed., The Nation's Children (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 108-137.

Though Negro boys and girls come from families with the same structure and socio-economic levels, different modes of adjustment are available to Negro boys and to Negro girls. Sprey, in using Merton's anomie paradigm, found that Negro boys are "retreatist" with respect to their goals, as ". . . they have a comparatively low level of occupational aspiration and expectation, a low enrollment in college-preparatory courses, and a high rate of indecision and uncertainty with respect to the occupational future."[18]

In this chapter, evidence has been presented which is consistent with this quotation. We have not yet compared the levels of "uncertainty and indecision" of Negro and white boys and girls in the sample. It can be expected that Negro boys should be most apt to be undecided with respect to their occupational plans, and white girls least apt. Boys should be most indecisive relative to girls within the Negro group. Failure to answer the question on occupational plans is one index of indecision and uncertainty with respect to those plans. Data on the percentages of students in each race sex groups that did not respond to the question on occupational plans are presented in Table 9.15. No data are available for the Southern girls.

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[18] Sprey, op. cit., p. 21.

TABLE 9.15--Percentages of Students Giving No Response to the Question about Their Occupational Plans, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Race Sex Group	North		South	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
Negro Boys	28.2	(1281)	18.5	(217)
White Boys	21.2	(1772)	17.2	(634)
Negro Girls	14.6	(1401)	--	--
White Girls	13.2	(1745)	--	--

Sprey's observations are supported by these data. Negro boys are the most apt not to respond, and white girls the least apt not to respond. Within sex groups, Negroes have higher percentages than whites: The gap is largest among the boys. Within race groups, boys have higher percentages than girls. In general, boys have higher percentages than girls, and Negroes have higher percentages than whites. All of these results are, of course, entirely consistent with the theoretical predictions developed in this text.

"Retreatism" is a mode of personal adaptation characteristic of the Negro boys. Negro girls are more apt to strive to attain "ritualistically" and to "innovate." These mechanisms, as Sprey states, ". . . have not been sufficiently available to become institutionalized in working class Negro subculture. For lower class Negro men, even many of the unusually available illegitimate types of innovative adjustment are absent."[19,20]

Two items in the questionnaire were designed to examine, in a crude manner, the modes of adjustment of Negro boys and girls, and the problems they perceive as barriers to their goals. First of all, students were asked:

> Which of the following things, if any, do you feel may keep you from having a more satisfying life than you are now having?

The following responses were offered to this question:

Lack of ability.
Lack of training and education.
Lack of opportunity: not getting the right breaks in life.
Lack of a clear and positive aim in life.
Family background.
The group, class, or race I am in.
My goals are too high.
The circumstance in the United States that now restrict the chances of people who are in my station in life.
None of the above.

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[19] Ibid. Cf. Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), Chapters 4 and 5; John M. Murtagh and Sara Harris, Cast the First Stone (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957), p. 147.

[20] Merton's paradigm has been discussed in earlier chapters. "Conformity" involves acceptance of both cultural goals, and socially structured means to attaining those goals. "Innovation" involves acceptance of goals, but the use of illegitimate, or non-institutionalized, means. "Ritualism" involves rejection of goals, but going through the ritual of means. "Retreatism" is rejection of both goals and means. Finally, "Rebellion" is the state of ambiguity with respect to both means and goals. See Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-160.

Data on this question are presented in Table 9.16. Percentages do not sum to one hundred as students were instructed to "Circle as many as you desire."

The discussion in this section leads to different predictions for the responses of Negro boys and girls, as compared to white boys and girls.

Within the Negro group, boys perceive that they have less ability than do girls, with the exception of North White High School, where the Negro boys are a selective and highly motivated group (see Chapter VII). At South White High School, boys also perceive themselves as less able than girls do. But at the three Northern schools, girls perceive that they have less ability than do boys. In general, Negro boys feel they have less ability than Negro girls, but white boys feel they have more ability than white girls. These findings are consistent with our theory.

An orientation to training and education, for girls, shows an instrumentally oriented desire to innovate on the environment and on their sex roles. In the white group, boys in all schools feel they lack sufficient education more than do girls. In the Negro group, however, there are two schools in which girls feel they lack sufficient education more than do boys. This indicates a degree of sex role reversal within the Negro group, and a high propensity of Negro girls to obtain the instruments of goal attainment.

TABLE 9.16--Percentages of Students Perceiving Various Obstacles to a More Satisfying Life, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Obstacles	South Negro High School		South White High School		North Negro High School			
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
Lack of Ability	17.1	14.5	21.1	15.5	22.3	21.3	12.5	14.3
Lack of Education	28.6	23.8	17.2	12.3	30.8	32.8	50.0	42.8
Lack of Opportunity	27.4	33.8	19.2	18.5	22.4	19.2	37.5	14.3
Lack of Aim in Life	14.9	8.1	35.4	40.5	16.2	12.0	12.5	14.3
Family Background	13.7	13.2	12.0	9.4	7.1	7.2	12.5	14.3
Group, Class, Race	26.9	26.1	4.9	3.8	28.4	25.4	--	--
Goals are too High	5.7	5.6	16.9	18.8	5.7	3.2	25.0	--
Social Restrictions	22.3	22.2	7.5	7.0	7.5	9.8	12.5	--
None of the Above	--	--	--	--	24.0	27.6	25.0	42.8
Total Number	175	234	308	341	717	830	8	7

	North Mixed High School				North White High School			
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
Lack of Ability	22.8	22.1	16.4	19.2	17.4	20.8	19.6	22.1
Lack of Education	29.5	31.3	26.0	21.9	28.3	15.1	24.4	20.8
Lack of Opportunity	20.9	17.2	21.8	12.9	30.4	11.3	23.8	12.4
Lack of Aim in Life	14.2	12.9	17.0	18.0	15.2	7.5	19.3	17.7
Family Background	6.4	8.7	7.3	10.7	64.3	5.7	5.1	7.9
Group, Class, Race	27.3	25.6	2.3	2.2	43.5	20.8	1.4	1.6
Goals are too High	5.6	3.2	6.1	7.0	2.2	3.8	6.9	6.8
Social Restrictions	7.0	8.7	2.6	2.9	6.5	15.1	3.1	1.4
None of the Above	23.0	28.4	37.2	38.2	19.6	39.6	34.7	42.8
Total Number	373	402	495	411	46	53	1159	1211

The response, "Lack of opportunity," also shows race differences. In the Negro group, Southern girls feel they lack opportunity more than do boys, but in the North boys are more apt to respond that they lack opportunities than are girls, and the sex differences in this Negro group are largest where Negroes are fewest in number.

For whites, boys in all schools feel they lack opportunity more than do girls. The difference is small at South White High School, but large at the three Northern schools.

It can be concluded from the above that girls in the Negro group feel a greater lack of opportunities than do girls in the white group. As with the responses to "Training and education," this indicates that Negro girls feel a need to attain goals, to be instrumental.

In the Negro group, boys at all schools are more apt to respond that they feel a greater "Lack of a clear and positive aim in life" than are girls. The sex differences for whites are small by comparison, and are not significant. The largest difference is 1.8 per cent, at North Negro High, where there are only 15 white students responding. Clearly, data suggest Negro girls have more highly developed "aims" than Negro boys. This is not true for whites. Hence, Negro girls are more goal directed relative to boys than white girls are relative to white boys. Once again, this shows the Negro girls' instrumentality, and the sex role reversal in the Negro group. Negro boys are "retreatist" relative to girls in the Negro race group, as they withdraw from seeking cultural goals.

In both North and South, the ratio of boys to girls that perceive "Family background" is an obstacle is greater in the Negro group than in the white group. This follows from Chapter III, in which we saw that boys in the Negro group are not as adequately socialized relative to girls as are boys in the white group.

The response, "My goals are too high," was given less than any other, for both races. The responses do not form a clear pattern.

Negroes are far more apt to mention social restrictions as an obstacle to a satisfying life. There is, within the Negro race, no sex difference in the South. In the North, Negro girls feel their circumstances in society are a barrier more often than Negro boys.

Finally, there are interesting results on the percentages of students responding that "None of the above" are obstacles. Whites, who have fewer obstacles, are in general less apt to give this response. Within races, girls are more apt to give this response. Within sexes, whites are more apt to respond that "None of the above" are obstacles. Hence, the most socialized groups perceive the fewest obstacles to a more satisfying life.

Another question asked is relevant to the perceived ways students pursue their goals:

> Which of the following do you feel will really get a person ahead the fastest today?

The following responses were offered:

> Hard work.
> Pleasant personality.
> Brains.
> Knowing the right people.
> Good luck.
> Coming from the right family.

The data will be presented first in Table 9.13.

Within both regions of the country, Negroes place less emphasis on "Hard work" than do whites. The difference is greatest in the South, where the payoff for this conformity to means is not as small for Negroes, who face more barriers to socio-economic success in this region. Sex differences were not pronounced.[21]

A "Pleasant personality" is an expressive orientation to pursuing goals. Since, from our theoretical framework, we know that girls are more instrumental relative to boys in the Negro group, we can expect the girl/boy ratio of both regions should be greater for whites than for Negroes. This expectation is confirmed: The sex ratios in the South are

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[21] On this, see Sprey, op. cit., p. 20; Marechal Young and Neil Ellison, "Some Sociological Aspects of Vocational Guidance of Negro Children," Journal of Negro Education, 15 (1946), pp. 21-30; Stewart Pennington and Lonnie E. Mitchell, "Sex Differences in Reactions to Minority Group Status," Journal of Negro Education, 28 (1959), pp. 35-47.

TABLE 9.17--Percentages of Students Perceiving VArious Ways to Get Ahead the Fastest, by Race and Sex: All Schools.

Way to Get Ahead Fastest	South				North			
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
Hard work	34.8	33.9	62.7	60.4	40.9	45.0	43.5	49.8
Personality	9.1	17.4	5.0	12.4	9.6	21.4	5.4	14.4
Brains	42.7	39.9	20.8	13.8	36.8	25.0	30.0	21.1
Know people	4.3	2.4	8.0	8.3	8.8	6.2	16.9	12.3
Good luck	3.2	1.6	0.8	0.2	.8	.7	1.0	.3
Family	5.8	4.8	2.6	4.9	3.0	1.7	3.2	2.1
Total percentage	99.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	(187)	248	601	610	(1067)	1203	1636	1639

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1.91 for Negroes and 2.48 for whites; the ratios in the North are 2.23 for Negroes and 2.67 for whites.

David Gottlieb has suggested (personal communication) that a response of "Brains" to this question can be interpreted to mean "manipulating the system" by Negro youth. Clearly, this is akin to Mertonian "innovation." Hence, from Sprey's research cited in this chapter, we can expect the girl/boy sex ratios to be greater in the Negro groups. This result is obtained only in the South: The girl/boy sex reatios in the South are .94 for Negroes and .66 for whites; the sex ratios in the North are about the same, .66 for Negroes and .71 for whites.

Boys place more emphasis on "Knowing people" in both races and in both regions.

A dependence on "Good luck" to get ahead is indicative of a low level of cerebral control over the socioeconomic environment. The groups that are socialized the most successfully should perceive that goals are not obtained fortuitously, but by purposive behavior. Hence, we can predict that Negro boys, the least socialized group, will depend most on luck. White girls, the most precocious group, should depend least on luck. Within race groups, girls should depend less on luck than boys. Within race groups, whites should depend less on luck than Negroes. All of these predictions are upheld in the South. In the North, there is one negative result: Within the boy group, whites depend more on luck, though the difference of .2 per cent is far from significant.

Few students view "Coming from the right family" as important to getting ahead. In the South, Negroes are more apt to give this response than whites. In the North, Negroes are slightly less apt to give this response.

Region has emerged from this discussion as a salient variable in the study of socialization, race, and education. We have in general found that the performance and aspirations of whites are greater than those of Negroes in both regions. Further, the gap is greater in the South. The sex role reversal within the Negro group is also undoubtedly most pronounced in the South.

Having discussed some generalized perceptions of how students view goal attainment, we are now ready to turn to the final chapter. The task will be to predict actual interaction with the reference groups that have been discussed in these chapters: Parents, siblings, peers, and Negro and white teachers. Interaction will then be related to actual performance.

CHAPTER X

ROLE SOCIALIZATION, INTERACTIVE REFERENCE GROUPS, AND EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

Expressive and Instrumental Role Socialization: a Universal Phenomenon

The theory of role socialization developed in this text is highly convergent with a model of role socialization presented in TenHouten,[1] and elaborated in a report by Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten.[2]

The first model was constructed to explicate the following statement of orientation: Adolescents behave much the same anywhere, in any sociocultural context, in that they will become oriented to (involved with) referents whom they perceive as having the desire and ability to help them attain skills, goals, and roles (ends), and that they will not become oriented to referents that they perceive as having neither the desire nor ability to help them.[3]

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[1] Warren D. TenHouten, "Methodological Innovations and Models on the Structure of Reference Group Behavior" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1963).

[2] David Gottlieb, Jon Reeves, and Warren TenHouten, The Emergence of Youth Societies: A Cross-Cultural Approach (East Lansing, Michigan: International Programs, 1963).

[3] This conceptualization was first formulated by David Gottlieb and Louis Guttman, in an informal mimeographed paper. This conceptualization is at least theoretically applicable not only to adolescents, but to all people.

Five facets were found to adequately explicate a "Facet Paradigm" for the study of adolescent behavior.[4] "Facets" are simply sets of elements expressed as Cartesian products. The first facet consists of *populations of adolescents.* In this presentation, the basic populations that have been sampled from are Negro boys, Negro girls, white boys, and white girls. The second facet is the *adolescents' behavior*: The adolescent perceives a *set of referents* and then interacts with those referents. The interaction is based on certain *properties of referents*, their desire, and their power means or ability to provide opportunities for the adolescent to attain *goals*. These goals are the fifth facet. (All five facets are underlined above.)

In this text, the set of socializing referents that have been discussed are the mother, the father, older brothers, older sisters, peers, and Negro and white teachers. The ends that have been discussed are social, educational, and occupational. Here, we will focus on educational and occupational goals, though the model is of sufficient generality to deal with any group, any referent set, and any goal.

The convergence of this explication with the theory presented here is that two perceived behavioral properties of referents are expressive support and instrumental means. These broad classes of opportunities have been shown to be central to the socialization process. Desire in the above model, or intention to help, clearly can be equated with expressive support; ability, or power means, can be equated with instrumental help.

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[4] On the vocabulary of facet theory, see, e.g., Louis Guttman, "Notes on Terminology for Facet Theory," in *Proceeding of the Fifteenth International Congress of Psychology* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1959), pp. 130-132.

Parsons has stated that the instrumental-expressive role allocation is universal. This has been substantively criticized by Zelditch, Broffenbrenner, and others, as we saw in Chapter III, in the discussion of socialization by parents. Research by Zelditch was cited to the effect that these two roles are not universally allocated so that the father is instrumental and the mother expressive between societies: The father was found to be the "instrumental leader" and the mother the "expressive leader" in only 44 out of the 54 societies.[5] Broffenbrenner's research demonstrated that, within the United States, the allocation of these roles varies within socio-economic groups.[6] A major argument in this text has been that the conjugal roles are reversed within the Negro group in American society. It has been shown that the Caucasian male parent is more instrumental and less expressive than the Negro male parent, and that the Caucasian female parent is less instrumental and more expressive than the Negro female parent.

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[5] Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 307-351. (See p.84 of this text.)

[6] Urie Broffenbrenner, "Family Structure and Personality Development: Report of Progress" (Cornell University: Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, 1958), p. 18. (See p. 84-85 here.)

The "universality" of a variable, properly defined, depends not on its allocation, but on its presence. Parsons is aware of this, as in The Structure of Social Action, he defines a universal variable as a property like mass in bodies. Bodies vary in mass, but all bodies have mass of some quantity. He writes:

> . . . an analytical element . . . . is an abstraction because it refers to a general property while what we actually observe is only its particular "value" in the particular case. We can observe that a given body has a given mass, but we never observe "mass" as such. Mass is, in the terminology of logic, a "universal."[7]

Similarly, male and female socializers vary in the quantity of expressive support they provide the socializee. But these two behavioral properties of referents are universally present in the socialization process. Evidence for this conclusion has been provided from a wide range of primitive, traditional, and modern societies, in Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten.[8] These few studies are but a small fraction of the evidence presented in Chapter III, and throughout this text. They are mentioned here only to emphasize the generality of the models to be developed in this chapter.

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[7] Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 34-35.

[8] Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten, op. cit. Also see S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956).

Components of Bounded Rationality in Role Behavior

The facet design presented above implicitly contains four assumptions: (1) The student (adolescent) wishes to attain educational and occupational goals; (2) Several referents are perceived in terms of these goals; (3) These referents may be perceived as differing in the extent to which they provide instrumental means and expressive support in helping the student attain his goals; (4) The student will allocate interaction with referents on the basis of these perceived attributes (expressive support and instrumental means). This involves decisional processes on the part of the student.

In general, it is assumed that the student has knowledge about relevant aspects of referents in his social environment, that he evaluates in terms of attaining his goals. This knowledge may or may not be objectively valid, but it will be organized in a relatively well-ordered set of preferences. It is also argued that the adolescent has evaluative skills that will enable him to "calculate" alternative choices of referents with whom he can become involved with, i.e., interact with.

To the extent that the student optimizes the distribution of interaction with his referents, on the basis of his perceptions of them, he is behaving rationally. This rationality is defined without regard for the "objectiveness" of his perceptions. This special definition of rationality is what Simon has called the Principle of Bounded Rationality. He writes:

> The capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required for objectively rational behavior in the real world--or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality.[9]

This formulation defines role behavior in terms of decision premises obtained from the socially defined roles appropriate to the student's perceptual situation.[10]

Expressive and Instrumental Role Socialization to Educational and Occupational Goals

Instrumental help and expressive support are both hypothesized to be predictive of role involvement with reference groups in the interactive processes related to the attainment of adult roles.

Instrumental means, as used here, is derived from Parsons' definition of power means. He writes: "Power is the ability to help another actor (here, the student) carry out roles or norms he supports."[11] This element was operationalized on the basis of dichotomized alternatives to the following items:

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[9] Herbert Simon, Models of Man: Social and Rational (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 198. Emphasized in text.

[10] Ibid., pp. 200-201.

> Which of the following kinds of people have ABILITY to help you go to college?
>
> Which of the following kinds of people have ABILITY to help you get the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling?

The other element of this facet, expressive support, was operationalized on the basis of dichotomized alternatives to these items:

> Which of the following kinds of people DESIRE to help you get the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling?
>
> Which of the following kinds of people DESIRE to help you go to college?

Role involvement, i.e., interaction with the set of referents was measured by responses to these questions:

> How often do you actually go to each of these kinds of people for help about going to college?
>
> How often do you actually go to each of these kinds of people for help in getting the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling?

The same set of alternatives were offered to these two items:

5 = Very often
4 = Quite often
3 = Sometimes
2 = Seldom
1 = Never

It is assumed that the responses are arranged along a rank ordered scale.

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[11] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 121. Etzioni's usage of "power means" is equivalent. See Amatai Etzioni, A Comparative

The data from the two Southern schools will not be presented in this chapter. First of all, the analysis to be presented requires that all of several items be answered on the questionnaire. The Southern students had a higher rate of non-response to these items, which decreased the sample size for these schools. Secondly, the sample sizes for these two schools were already considerably smaller than the sizes of the Northern schools (see Table 1.3, p. 29).

With the data from the three Northern schools, it was possible to compare the perceived instrumentality versus expressiveness of male versus female referents of a given type. In particular, sex comparisons are possible for parents and for siblings.

In Chapter III, we developed the idea that the normal family role structure, with the mother expressive and the father instrumental, is to some extent reversed for Negro families. Here, we will test this hypothesis for Negro and white boys and girls in their perceptions of their parents' expressive and instrumental roles with respect to the students' educational and occupational goals. Positive associations represent the normal distribution of roles, with the father instrumental and the mother expressive. It is predicted that the associations, for both boys and girls, and for both goals, will be largest for the white group. This result has already been obtained for conjugal role reversal

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Analysis of Complex Organizations (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), p. 4.

based on occupational roles (see, e.g., Table 5.7). Here, we will focus not on conjugal roles, but on parent-child roles. The data to be used in this test includes only referents that are perceived as possessing only instrumental means, or only expressive support. Cases where there is no information on one or both are excluded, as are cases where there are both means and support, and neither means nor support.

Data for boys and their parents are presented in Table 10.1.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this table is that the case of either parent providing instrumental means only is infrequent, i.e., few parents fall into the "Instrumental" column.

All four coefficients are positive, and the sex roles are consequently not reversed in any of these cases. It is not _absolute_ reversal ($\phi < 0$) that is of theoretical interest. Our hypothesis is rather that the roles of Negro parents are reversed _viz a viz_ white parents, i.e., the _phi_ coefficients will be smaller in the Negro group than in the white group.

The results obtained in Table 10.1 provide only limited support for this conclusion. There is virtually no difference for educational goals, and neither distribution is significantly different from chance expectancy. For occupational goals, however, the coefficient for whites is larger than that for Negroes. In addition, the sex roles are

TABLE 10.1--Associations Between Perceived Expressiveness or Instrumentality of Parents, and Sex of Parents, for Negro and White Boys: Northern Schools.

	Negro Boys				White Boys		
	Role Type				Role Type		
Parent	Expr.	Inst.	Total	Parent	Expr.	Inst.	Total
			Educational Goals				
Mother	151	12	163	Mother	207	25	232
Father	98	16	114	Father	139	25	164
Total	249	28	277	Total	346	50	396
$\phi = .08$; $X^2 = 1.70$ n.s.				$\phi = .07$; $X^2 = 1.94$, n.s.			
			Occupational Goals				
Mother	147	11	158	Mother	390	9	399
Father	97	14	111	Father	214	20	234
Total	244	25	269	Total	604	29	633
$\phi = .09$; $X^2 = 2.18$, n.s.				$\phi = .13$; $X^2 = 10.70$, $p < .01$			

significantly related to the sex of the parent. The perceptions of these roles of parents as perceived by girls are presented in Table 10.2.

Stronger results are obtained for girls than had been found for boys. Negro girls perceive that their parents' roles are absolutely reversed for both educational and occupational goals, though the phi coefficients are not statistically significant. For white girls, however, the phi's are significantly positive for both goals.

White boys and white girls are essentially alike in their perceptions of their parents. White girls see both mothers and fathers as more instrumental than boys. For educational goals, boys see 11% of their mothers and 15% of their fathers as instrumental, whereas girls see 19% of their mothers and 31% of their fathers as instrumental. For occupational goals, boys see 2% of their mothers and 9% of their fathers as instrumental, and girls see 2% of their mothers and 5% of their fathers as instrumental.

For both goals, white girls see both parents as more instrumental than white boys. Both sexes see fathers as more instrumental than mothers, as evidenced by the four positive ϕ's.

Negro boys and Negro girls, in contradistinction to whites, differ markedly in their perceptions of their parents. In the white group, we saw that both sexes perceive their fathers as most instrumental. In the Negro group, however,

TABLE 10.2--Associations Between Perceived Expressiveness or Instrumentality of Parents, and Sex of Parents, for Negro and White Girls: Northern Schools.

	Negro Girls				White Girls		
	Role Type				Role Type		
Parent	Expr.	Inst.	Total	Parent	Expr.	Inst.	Total
			Educational Goals				
Mother	119	42	161	Mother	217	50	267
Father	69	13	82	Father	125	57	182
Total	188	55	243	Total	342	107	449
Ø = -.10; X^2 = 2.40, n.s.				Ø = .15; X^2 = 8.89, p < .01			
			Occupational Goals				
Mother	141	10	151	Mother	390	10	400
Father	133	9	142	Father	279	21	300
Total	274	19	293	Total	669	31	700
Ø = -.01; X^2 = .11, n. s.				Ø = .18; X^2 = 22.68, p < .01			

only boys see their fathers as most instrumental. For educational goals, boys see 7% of their mothers and 13% of their fathers as instrumental, but girls see 26% of their mothers and only 16% of their fathers as instrumental. For occupational goals, boys see 7% of their mothers and 12% of their fathers as instrumental, but girls see 7% of their mothers and 6% of their fathers as instrumental. The girls perceive *role reversal*, as evidenced by the two negative ϕ's.

Negro girls see both parents as more instrumental than do Negro boys for educational goals, and less instrumental for occupational goals.

There are two alternative explanations for the fact that the data for Negro girls shows greater role reversal than that for Negro boys. It may be that girls or boys do not perceive correctly what their roles with their parents *are*. A more likely explanation is that fathers do not have instrumental roles with their daughters in the American Negro family. The mother in the matricentric Negro family, having more instrumental power, and being the major socializer of her daughters, leaves little for the Negro father to do in helping the girl child attain her educational and occupational goals.

The same phenomena can be examined for male and female siblings. The results of the analysis indicate that there is little differentiation between older sisters and brothers in the extent to which they are perceived as providing expressive and instrumental goals. This obtained for both boys and girls in both race groups, with respect to both educational and occupational goals.

The other three referents for which data were obtained, peers, Negro teachers, and white teachers, were not differentitated by their sex. Consequently, data similar to that presented in Tables 10.1 and 10.2 are not available for these referents.

For an evaluation of the utility of the various referents for goal attainment, it is necessary to look at referents that provide both means and support, and neither means nor support, as well as the cases of only means or only support.

Data for parents providing means and support are presented in Table 10.3.

Controlling for mother's occupation and father's occupation had little influence on the above distributions. Hence, we can analyze these results with some confidence that they are due to race and not to social class.

Table 10.3 shows that the differences in the responses of Negro and white boys are not too different. Negro boys perceive instrumental help from 79% and 77% of their fathers, for educational and occupational goals, as compared to 84% and 76% for white boys. Hence, white boys perceive slightly more instrumental help from their fathers. As for expressive support, Negro boys perceive 91% and 90% for educational and occupational goals, as compared to 84% and

TABLE 10.3--Percentages of Students Perceiving Parents in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, by Students' Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Referent State	Educational Goals				Occupational Goals			
	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Father								
Both	77	82	68	69	75	75	74	66
Means	2	2	3	5	2	1	1	2
Support	14	12	17	10	15	18	18	24
Neither	7	4	12	6	7	6	7	8
Total %	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100
Total Number	(717)	(1163)	(911)	(1203)	(600)	(1167)	(724)	(1159)
Mother								
Both	77	77	81	71	66	54	79	62
Means	1	2	4	4	2	1	1	1
Support	18	17	12	18	25	37	16	32
Neither	4	4	3	7	7	9	4	5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100
Total Number	(825)	(1192)	(1005)	(1223)	(592)	(1077)	(844)	(1228)

76% for white boys. Hence, Negro boys perceive their fathers less instrumental but more expressive than do white boys. These results are consistent with our theoretical framework.

Negro boys receive totals of 78% and 68% from their mothers for instrumental help, as compared to 79% and 55% for white boys. Hence, Negro boys perceive their mothers as more instrumental than do white boys. Negro boys receive 95% and 91% expressive help from their mothers, as compared to 94% and 87% for white boys. Hence, mothers provide both more instrumental and more expressive help to Negro boys than to white boys.

In summary, Negro boys, when compared to white boys, perceive their fathers as less instrumental and more expressive, and their mothers as both more instrumental and more expressive. This adds limited evidence to our conceptualization that the instrumental-expressive roles tend toward reversal in the Negro family, and that the mother is a more important role socializer to the Negro boy than to the white boy.

For girls, Negro girls receive instrumental help from a total of 85% and 80% of their mothers, for educational and occupational goals, respectively, as compared to 75% and 63% for white girls. Negro girls thus perceive their mothers are more instrumental than white girls' mothers. Negro girls receive expressive help from a total of

93% and 95% of their mothers, as compared to 89% and 94% of white mothers. Thus, Negro girls, like Negro boys, perceive both more expressive and more instrumental help from their mothers than white girls.

Negro girls perceived that instrumental help was present for 71% and 75% of their fathers, for educational and occupational goals, respectively, as compared to 74% and 68% for white girls' fathers. Negro girls' fathers are less instrumental for educational goals, but more instrumental for occupational goals, when compared to white girls' fathers. Negro girls perceived that expressive help from fathers was present in 85% and 92% of the cases, for educational and occupational goals, as compared to 79% and 90% for white girls' fathers for these two goals. White girls' fathers are less expressive than Negro girls' fathers for both goals.

Within both sexes, Negro students view their fathers as more expressive than do white students.

Similar data for older siblings are presented in Table 10.4.

In each of the sixteen cases, matching race, sex, goal, sex of referent, and state, the percentages perceived as providing "Both" means and support are higher for parents than for siblings. In each of the sixteen cases of siblings perceived as providing "Neither," parents are mentioned less frequently, and again rank higher. It is clear

TABLE 10.4--Percentages of Students Perceiving Siblings in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, by Students' Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Referent State	Educational Goals				Occupational Goals			
	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls	Negro Boys	White Boys	Negro Girls	White Girls
Older Brothers								
Both	65	66	57	54	54	64	62	52
Means	5	4	17	9	3	2	2	3
Support	17	17	11	13	25	23	21	23
Neither	13	13	15	24	17	11	15	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100
Total Number	(246)	(352)	(341)	(335)	(216)	(282)	(292)	(377)
Older Sisters								
Both	63	61	68	51	61	41	60	59
Means	5	4	4	9	4	3	4	4
Support	17	21	14	16	19	33	20	24
Neither	15	15	14	25	16	23	16	13
Total %	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	100
Total Number	(246)	(313)	(300)	(338)	(210)	(322)	(240)	(425)

that parents of a given sex rank higher than the corresponding situation for siblings. Parents are perceived as providing more opportunities than siblings.

To some extent, same-sex siblings are perceived as providing more opportunities than cross-sex siblings.

Negro boys perceive that their older sisters provide 70% and 57% instrumental means, for educational and occupational goals, respectively, whereas their older brothers provide 68% and 65%. Older brothers are seen as having slightly higher instrumental value. Older sisters are seen as providing expressive support totals of 82% and 79% of the time, as compared to 80% and 80% for older brothers, i.e., older sisters are slightly more expressive.

Negro girls see more sex role differentiation than do Negro boys, indicating once more that Negro girls are precocious in their perception of roles relative to Negro boys. Negro girls percieve their older sister providing instrumental means in 74% and 64% of the cases. Brothers are seen as slightly more instrumental than sisters. Older sisters are seen as providing expressive support in 82% and 83% of the cases, as compared to a lower 68% and 80% for older brothers. Sisters are thus seen by Negro girls as slightly less instrumental, but as much more expressive.

White boys see their older sisters providing instrumental means totals of 65% and 44%, for educational and occupational goals, respectively, as compared to 70% and

66% for their brothers. Older brothers are clearly viewed as more instrumental, especially for occupational goals. Older sisters are seen as providing expressive support in 82% and 74% of the cases, as compared to 85% and 77% for older brothers, for educational and occupational goals. White boys thus view their sisters as less instrumental and more expressive than their brothers. Again, the distribution of responses matches females to an expressive role and males to an instrumental role.

White girls see their older sisters as providing totals of 60% and 63% for means, as compared to 63% and 55% for their brothers. Here, girls see their sisters as more instrumental in general, as the difference in occupational goal is pronounced. Older sisters are seen as providing support 67% and 83% of the cases for educational and occupational goals, respectively, as compared to 67% and 75% for older brothers. Hence, sisters are more expressive for occupational goals only.

The student's school has little effect on interaction with parents and siblings, as these referents are not in the school. In our examination of Negro and white teachers, however, it is necessary to control for school. The racial composition of the student body and the faculty, as we have seen in many contexts, are important determinants of adolescent behavior.

Data for interactions between students and their Negro and white teachers are presented in Tables 10.5--10.8, for

Negro boys, Negro girls, white boys, and Negro girls, respectively.

Table 10.5 shows between-school variations for Negro boys in the opportunities perceived as emanating from their Negro and white teachers.

Negro teachers at North Negro High, where Negro students are a large majority, are ranked--for educational goals--slightly lower on instrumental means than Negro teachers at the other two schools, and lower on support than at North White. For occupational goals, there is little between-school variation in either means or support. For North Negro and North Mixed High Schools, the distributions for Negro and white teachers are much alike. The North White High Negro minority is, as was shown in Chapter VII, a selective group. They seek reward in the formal system of the school, while paying a cost in social rewards. This minority perceives not only a hostile peer social system. The predominantly white faculty was found, through observation and informal interviews, to be somewhat hostile to the minority of Negro students. They regarded the possibility of an increase in Negro students as somewhat of a threat. Hence, the Negro student, in seeking educational and occupational goals from this school, pays a psychological cost in interacting with white faculty members.

White teachers were perceived as providing the same level of means at all three schools, 83 or 84 per cent, for

TABLE 10.5--Percentages of Students Perceiving Negro and White Teachers in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, Negro Boys: Northern Schools.

Referent	State	North Negro Educ.	North Negro Occ.	North Mixed Educ.	North Mixed Occ.	North White Educ.	North White Occ.
Negro Teachers	Both	75	80	75	82	93	80
	Means	8	5	11	6	4	5
	Support	8	8	8	6	0	10
	Neither	9	7	7	6	4	5
Total per cent		100	100	101	100	99	100
Total number		(272)	(286)	(159)	(143)	(27)	(25)
White Teachers	Both	75	80	75	80	76	74
	Means	9	5	8	7	8	4
	Support	7	7	8	5	0	9
	Neither	8	8	8	7	16	13
Total per cent		99	100	99	99	100	100
Total number		(296)	(286)	(133)	(140)	(25)	(23)

educational goals. As the proportion of white teachers increases, however, there is a decrease in the support provided: The percentages are 81 for North Negro and North Mixed, and 76 for North White.

For occupational goals, the percentages of students responding that their white teachers provide means decreases from North Negro, to North Mixed, to North White: The percentages are 85, 83, and 78, respectively. For support, there is little variation. The percentages are 81 at North Negro, 82 at North Mixed, and 80 at North White.

For educational goals, Negro boys perceived their Negro teachers provide means in 97% of the cases at North Negro High, as compared to 86% at North Mixed and 83% at North White High. For support of educational goals, the percentages are 93 at North White, and 83 at the other two schools. Hence, as the proportion of Negroes in a student body and faculty both decrease, Negro boys perceive their same-race teachers increase in both means and support for their educational goals.

For occupational goals, Negro teachers did not vary much by school for either means or support, though the percentages for support tended to be higher.

In summary, the opportunities perceived from Negro and white teachers by Negro boys are much alike at North Negro and North Mixed High Schools. At North White High, however, Negro teachers increase in opportunities provided, even though there are fewer of them, while white teachers decrease in the opportunities they provide. The hypothesis that white teachers in a white high school provide means but not support receives some support from the above data, with respect for educational goals.

Data for Negro girls and their Negro and white teachers are presented in Table 10.6.

At North Negro and North Mixed High Schools, the responses for Negro and white teachers by Negro girls are much alike, though Negro teachers are consistently rated higher on both means and support. As with the case of Negro boys, the effects of teachers' race are greatest at North White High School. At this school, white teachers are perceived as providing less instrumental means for both educational and occupational goals. There is no change for support for occupational goals.

Data for white boys and their Negro and white teachers are presented in Table 10.7.

For white boys, the racial composition of the faculty produces even more pronounced effects on perceptions of teachers than in either Negro sex group.

The few white boys at North Negro high school perceive few opportunities from either white or Negro teachers. As we saw in Chapter VII, this group is dissatisfied with being in a virtually all-Negro school, and perceives few rewards in the school. In the other two schools, white boys continue

TABLE 10.6--Percentages of Students Perceiving Negro and White Teachers in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, Negro Girls: Northern Schools.

		North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
Referent	State	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.
Negro Teachers	Both	80	81	77	76	83	81
	Means	7	7	9	8	4	0
	Support	6	4	6	7	0	5
	Neither	7	7	8	8	13	14
Total per cent		100	99	100	99	100	100
Total number		(327)	(365)	(144)	(150)	(24)	(27)
White Teachers	Both	73	76	77	75	71	75
	Means	10	8	8	10	4	5
	Support	8	5	4	7	4	5
	Neither	9	10	10	9	27	15
Total per cent		100	99	99	101	100	100
Total number		(274)	(318)	(133)	(148)	(24)	(20)

TABLE 10.7--Percentages of Students Perceiving Negro and White Teachers in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, White Boys: Northern Schools.

		North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
Referent	State	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.
Negro Teachers	Both	25	67	50	37	44	33
	Means	25	0	9	4	10	6
	Support	25	0	8	12	8	13
	Neither	25	33	34	47	38	48
Total per cent		100	100	101	100	100	100
Total number		(4)	(3)	(109)	(130)	(218)	(270)
White Teachers	Both	50	50	75	57	71	55
	Means	25	25	8	5	8	6
	Support	25	0	7	14	9	15
	Neither	0	25	10	23	13	24
Total per cent		100	100	100	99	101	100
Total number		(4)	(4)	(205)	(220)	(476)	(480)

to see few rewards from interacting with Negro teachers, with respect to both educational and occupational goals.

White boys give much more positive responses to same-race teachers. For educational goals, they see means a total of 75% at North Negro, 83% at North Mixed, and 80% at North White. Support varies from 75% to 82% to 79%. For support and educational goals, the minimum occurs at North Negro, and the maximum at North Mixed High Schools. For occupational goals, white boys report means a total 75% at North Negro, 62% at North Mixed, and 61% at North White. Support for occupational goals is perceived in 50%, 71%, and 70%, of the cases at North Negro, North Mixed, and North White, respectively.

Data for white girls are presented in Table 10.8.

The few white girls at North Negro High all gave answers of "Both" means and support for their Negro and white teachers, for both educational and occupational goals. They responded more favorably to their teachers than did the white boys.

For educational goals, Negro teachers were seen as providing means by 74% of the white girls at North Mixed, and by 63% at North White High. For occupational goals, the percentages of white girls viewing their Negro teachers as providing means are 63 and 44, for North Mixed and North White, respectively. It can be generalized that the proportion of Negro teachers that are perceived as providing means, TABLE 10.8--Percentages of Students Perceiving Negro and White Teachers in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, White Girls: Northern Schools.

		North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
Referent	State	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.
Negro Teachers	Both	100	100	62	57	55	40
	Means	0	0	12	6	8	4
	Support	0	0	3	8	5	14
	Neither	0	0	23	29	31	41
Total per cent		100	100	100	100	100	99
Total number		(3)	(2)	(99)	(112)	(231)	(261)
White Teachers	Both	100	100	77	73	74	63
	Means	0	0	8	6	7	5
	Support	0	0	8	9	8	12
	Neither	0	0	8	12	17	20
Total per cent		100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number		(4)	(2)	(145)	(184)	(525)	(591)

and support as well, is inversely related to the proportion of Negro teachers in that school.

For white teachers, means for educational goals are perceived in 85% and 81% for North Mixed and North White High Schools. The corresponding values for support are 85% and 82%. For occupational goals, the totals are 79% and 68% for means, and 82% and 75% for support, at North Mixed and North White, respectively. White teachers thus are most valuable to white girls where they are fewest. This has also been found to be the case for Negro boys and girls.

The data in these four tables show that the race of faculty members has pronounced effects on the perceived availability of obtaining instrumental and expressive help in the attainment of educational and occupational goals.

The analysis of data for teachers has been limited by not knowing the sex of the teachers in each race. For "friends at school," there is information on neither sex nor race. There were few significant between-school variations for responses about peers, so the data are not broken down by school.

Data on Negro and white boys and girls and their peers are presented in Table 10.9.

Peers are seen as providing less opportunities than parents, siblings, and teachers. Without exception, peers are more expressive than instrumental, as without exception they provide more support than means. Older sisters were

TABLE 10.9--Percentages of Students Perceiving Friends at School in Four States of Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, for Educational and Occupational Goals, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

	Negro Boys		White Boys		Negro Girls		White Girls	
Referent State	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.	Educ.	Occ.
Both	33	35	40	29	29	29	31	31
Means	8	8	7	7	8	4	7	9
Support	16	21	16	22	17	18	15	25
Neither	43	36	37	42	46	49	47	35
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101
Total number	(313)	(277)	(551)	(596)	(303)	(322)	(567)	(670)

also more expressive without exception; older brothers were more expressive, with one exception for Negro girls' older brothers with respect to educational goals.

Within each race group, boys perceive more means than girls, with the exception of occupational goals for whites. Within each race group, boys also perceive more support than girls. Again, occupational goals for white students are an exception.

Opportunities and Interaction

In the preceeding section, the extent to which the seven referents are perceived as providing instrumental means and expressive support was examined in some detail. In this section, we will turn to the interrelations of opportunities and interaction.

The intensity of interaction with a referent is one aspect of the level of role involvement of the student and the referent. The goals of the student refers to a perceived future state of affairs involving new role relationships. Different goals will tend to be attained through different processes of socialization. Instrumental goals, such as educational and occupational, will be primarily obtained through intentional instruction. Social goals, on the other hand, are more informally learned.

Given this relationship between the learning process and the goal, it seems reasonable to suppose that the relevance of a kind of referent will depend upon the goal sought. A teacher provides intentional instruction for attaining an educational or an occupational goal. An older sibling, or peer will be a role model for learning social skills.[12] Since, in this chapter, we deal empirically with two goals that are instrumental, it is difficult to predict which of the two cases--means only, or support only--will result in the highest frequency of interaction. Means should clearly be more predictive of interaction for both educational and occupational goals than for social goals, though data is not available to test this hypothesis.

Four hypotheses relating opportunities (means and support) to interaction with referents have been developed in an earlier report:[13]

> Hypothesis 1: If a referent is perceived as having neither instrumental means nor expressive support in helping a student attain an educational or occupational goal, that student will interact with that referent at a low frequency level.

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[12] A sociometric experiment by Gilchrist on the factors influencing choice of a partner for a two-person task adds some evidence to this conceptualization of the relation between choice of interaction and the "goodness" of a referent's activities. For "intellectual" (instrumental) activities, a partner was most often chosen who had been initially successful; for "social" tasks (expressive), a partner was most often chosen on the basis of previous interaction. J. D. Gilchrist, "The Formation of Social Groups Under Conditions of Success and Failure," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 47 (1952), pp. 174-187, cited in Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten, op. cit., p. 14.

[13] Ibid., p. 2; TenHouten, op. cit., p. 23.

Hypothesis 2: If a referent is perceived as having expressive support, but not instrumental means in helping a student attain an educational or occupational goal, that student will interact with that referent at an intermediate frequency level.

Hypothesis 3: If a referent is perceived as having instrumental means but no expressive support in helping a student attain an educational or occupational goal, that student will interact with that referent at an intermediate frequency level.

Hypothesis 4: If a referent is perceived as having both instrumental means and expressive support in helping a student attain an educational or occupational goal, that student will interact with that referent at a high frequency level.

Since parents and siblings are not *in* the high school, the student's school has virtually no effect for interactions between parents and the student, and between older siblings and the student. Consequently, data for these interactions will be collapsed by school, in Tables 10.10 through 10.14.

We shall see that in *all* of the 56 distribution of mean interaction over the four states in these tables, the case of "Neither" produces the least frequent interaction. In 55 of the 56 distributions, the case of "Both" produces the most frequent interaction.

Beyond this, however, we have hypothesized only a partial ordering. It will be found that in the 52 cases where the means for interaction in the two cases are not equal, 35 have higher interaction for the "Support" only case. In general, "Support" will be found to be more predictive of interaction than "Means." As mentioned, the integer 5 corresponds to the most frequent interaction, and 1 to the least frequent. The values refer not to interval data but to a rank ordering. Hence, it will not be claimed, e.g., that the difference between 2.2 and 2.3 is the same as the difference between 3.2 and 3.3.

Data on interaction between Negro and white boys and girls and their mothers are presented in Table 10.10.

Comparisons of Negro and white totals in this table show that for each corresponding sex and goal, Negroes interact with their mothers more frequently than whites: Negro boys and girls interact with their mothers for both educational and occupational goals more than do white boys and girls. This supports the idea that the mother is a more important socializer in the Negro family than in the white family.

The four totals for the race sex groups reveal that, for each goal, girls interact more with their mothers than do boys.

For each race sex group, the totals show more interaction with respect to occupational goals than for educational goals.

TABLE 10.10--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Mothers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

State	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	3.5	(634)	4.0	(390)	3.2	(917)	3.7	(580)
Means	3.5	(12)	2.9	(11)	3.2	(25)	3.2	(9)
Support	2.9	(151)	3.2	(147)	2.6	(207)	2.7	(390)
Neither	2.4	(28)	2.8	(44)	1.7	(43)	2.2	(98)
Total	3.3	(825)	3.7	(592)	3.0	(1192)	3.2	(1077)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Both	3.8	(816)	4.1	(689)	3.4	(865)	4.0	(765)
Means	3.7	(42)	3.2	(10)	1.9	(50)	3.5	(10)
Support	3.6	(119)	3.7	(141)	2.8	(217)	3.2	(390)
Neither	2.3	(28)	2.5	(34)	2.0	(92)	2.3	(63)
Total	3.7	(1005)	4.0	(874)	3.1	(1224)	3.6	(1228)

The predicted pattern, with the greatest interaction corresponding to the "Both" case and the least interaction to the "Neither" case, is found in all cases. There are two instances in which "Means" and "Both" have the same value, however, for the interactions of Negro and white boys with respect to educational goals.

Data on interaction with fathers are presented in Table 10.11. The data for fathers are in many respects like that for mothers. Totals show that for each corresponding sex and goal, Negroes interact with their fathers more than do whites. The differences are not significant, but are contrary to expectation.

Among Negroes, girls interact more with father for both goals. Among whites, however, boys interact more for both goals.

For each race sex group, the totals show more interaction for occupational goals than for educational goals. The predicted pattern, with most frequent interaction for "Both" and least for "Neither" is followed in all eight cases.

Comparisons of the total averages for interactions with mothers and fathers shows that, among boys, Negroes interact more with their mothers (.3 more for each goal) than their fathers. White boys, however, interact with each parent with about the same frequency (.1 less for fathers educational goals; .1 more for occupational goals). Once more, we see evidence that Negro boys are oriented to their mothers more than are white boys.

TABLE 10.11--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Fathers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

State	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	3.2	(552)	3.7	(449)	3.1	(950)	3.6	(869)
Means	2.7	(16)	2.5	(14)	1.7	(25)	2.8	(20)
Support	2.6	(98)	2.8	(97)	2.6	(139)	2.7	(214)
Neither	1.8	(51)	2.2	(40)	1.6	(49)	1.8	(64)
Total	3.0	(717)	3.4	(600)	2.9	(1163)	3.3	(1167)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Both	3.4	(278)	3.8	(532)	3.4	(832)	3.7	(769)
Means	2.0	(13)	2.8	(9)	1.6	(57)	2.6	(21)
Support	3.1	(69)	3.0	(33)	2.4	(125)	2.8	(279)
Neither	1.6	(51)	2.0	(54)	1.6	(89)	1.8	(90)
Total	3.2	(411)	3.7	(628)	2.8	(1003)	3.3	(1159)

Among girls, both Negroes and whites interact more with their fathers than their mothers, in all four cases. For occupational goals, the values for mothers are .3 higher than the values for fathers in both race groups. For educational goals, however, Negro girls show more interaction with their mothers relative to fathers than white girls, a difference of .5 compared with one of .3.

Data for older sisters are presented in Table 10.12. The data in this table contain the same relationship found for both mothers and fathers. For each corresponding sex and goal, totals for Negroes show more interaction with their older sisters than for whites.

As with both parents, for each race sex group, the totals show more interaction for occupational goals than for educational goals.

As with both parents, for each race group and goal, girls interact with their older sisters more than, or as much, as do boys.

For each race sex group, the totals show more interaction for occupational goals than for educational goals. This too was the case for both parents.

The predicted pattern, with most frequent interaction for "Both" and least for "Neither" is followed in all eight cases.

Data for older brothers are presented in Table 10.13.

TABLE 10.12--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Older Sisters About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

State	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	3.0	(168)	3.3	(117)	2.7	(192)	3.0	(133)
Means	2.0	(13)	3.0	(7)	1.7	(13)	3.0	(9)
Support	1.9	(45)	2.4	(55)	2.2	(68)	2.2	(107)
Neither	1.7	(32)	2.0	(37)	1.4	(40)	1.9	(73)
Total	2.6	(258)	2.8	(216)	2.3	(313)	2.5	(322)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Both	3.2	(206)	3.6	(181)	2.8	(173)	3.6	(249)
Means	1.9	(13)	3.0	(6)	1.6	(31)	2.4	(17)
Support	2.2	(44)	2.5	(62)	2.3	(59)	2.8	(102)
Neither	1.7	(40)	2.0	(43)	1.4	(90)	2.0	(57)
Total	2.8	(303)	3.1	(292)	2.3	(353)	3.1	(425)

TABLE 10.13--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Older Brothers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

State	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.8	(154)	3.6	(128)	2.9	(233)	3.4	(242)
Means	2.1	(12)	3.2	(8)	1.6	(13)	2.1	(8)
Support	2.1	(43)	2.4	(40)	2.2	(60)	2.2	(89)
Neither	1.5	(37)	1.8	(34)	1.4	(46)	1.9	(43)
Total	2.4	(246)	3.1	(210)	2.5	(352)	3.2	(382)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Both	3.1	(194)	3.5	(145)	2.8	(180)	3.1	(195)
Means	2.1	(57)	2.1	(9)	2.0	(30)	2.1	(12)
Support	2.2	(38)	2.2	(49)	1.9	(46)	2.3	(85)
Neither	1.4	(52)	1.9	(37)	1.4	(79)	1.6	(85)
Total	2.6	(341)	2.9	(240)	2.4	(315)	2.5	(377)

For educational goals, Negro boys and girls interact most frequently with their sisters. White boys and girls, however, interact most with their brothers. For occupational goals, all four race sex groups interact most frequently with their same-sex siblings. Hence, in three of four cases, Negroes interact most frequently with their sisters. Whites, however, interact most with their sisters in only one of four cases. This is consistent with the view developed in this text that females are more instrumental in the Negro group than in the white group.

As with both parents and older sisters, the totals show more interaction for occupational goals than for educational goals.

The predicted patterns, with most frequent interaction for "Both" and least for "Neither" is followed in all eight cases, as it was for older sisters and for fathers. Hence, Hypotheses 1--4 are supported by the data in these four tables.

It has not been necessary to present data controlling for school in discussing interaction with parents and siblings. Since these interactions take place outside of the school, breakdown by school has little effect on the interactions. In examining interactions with teachers, however, which do take place in the school, there are significant between-school differences. Hence, data for teachers will be presented by school. To obtain comparability with the family data, summary data for all schools combined will also be presented.

Data for Negro boys are presented in Table 10.14.

Negro boys interact with their Negro teachers more frequently about occupational goals than about educational goals: There are ties but no exceptions. This appears to be a very general phenomenon, that recurs for various referents.

The predicted partial rank ordering of interaction over the four states is again observed in the total columns for all schools: The highest values are found in the "Both" cases; the smallest values, in the "Neither" case. Breakdowns by school reduce the sample sizes, and some inversions are found in the school-by-school orderings. "Support" only (N=8) gives the most frequent interaction for North Mixed and Occupational goals. "Neither" (N=1) gives the most frequent interaction at North White High.

Data for interactions between Negro boys and white teachers are presented in Table 10.15.

Negro boys interact with white teachers more frequently about occupational goals than about educational goals. As with Negro teachers, there are two ties, but no exceptions to this generalization. One tie is common to both races of teachers. This is the case of "Both" at North White High. We have seen, in various contexts, that in this school, the Negro minority is a highly motivated group, and oriented to

TABLE 10.14--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Negro Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, Negro Boys: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occpational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.8	(205)	2.9	(227)	2.7	(119)	2.9	(118)
Means	2.4	(21)	2.4	(15)	1.6	(18)	2.2	(8)
Support	2.1	(20)	2.1	(23)	1.7	(12)	2.0	(8)
Neither	1.6	(26)	1.8	(21)	1.5	(10)	1.9	(9)
Total	2.6	(272)	2.7	(286)	2.4	(159)	2.8	(143)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	2.6	(25)	2.6	(20)	2.7	(349)	2.9	(365)
Means	1.0	(1)	2.0	(1)	2.0	(40)	2.3	(23)
Support	---	(0)	2.5	(3)	2.0	(32)	2.3	(34)
Neither	1.0	(1)	3.0	(1)	1.6	(37)	1.9	(31)
Total	2.5	(27)	2.6	(25)	2.5	(458)	2.7	(453)

TABLE 10.15--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with White Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, Negro Boys: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.7	(222)	3.0	(209)	2.0	(100)	2.8	(111)
Means	2.1	(26)	2.6	(16)	1.5	(11)	2.6	(11)
Support	1.7	(21)	2.1	(19)	1.8	(10)	2.7	(7)
Neither	1.6	(27)	1.7	(21)	1.2	(12)	1.6	(11)
Total	2.5	(296)	2.8	(265)	2.3	(133)	2.7	(140)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	2.7	(19)	2.7	(17)	2.7	(341)	2.9	(337)
Means	2.0	(2)	2.0	(1)	1.9	(39)	2.5	(28)
Support	--	(0)	1.5	(2)	1.7	(31)	2.2	(28)
Neither	1.5	(4)	1.7	(3)	1.5	(43)	1.7	(35)
Total	2.4	(25)	2.4	(23)	2.4	(454)	2.7	(428)

attaining goals through the formal system of the school. Hence, they interact with teachers of both races regarding their educational goals as often as their occupational goals. In general, there is virtually no difference, by teachers' race, in the frequency with which Negro boys will interact with teachers.

The predicted ordering of interaction is followed for the total columns for all schools: Breakdowns by schools, though reducing the sample sizes, produce no ties and no inversions.

For Negro teachers, Negro boys responded that means and support were equally predictive. Here, for white teachers, means are more predictive of interaction for both goals. This is true for every school. Negro boys are more responsive to instrumental help from white teachers than to expressive support.

Data for Negro girls and their interactions with Negro and white teachers are presented in Tables 10.16 and 10.17.

Negro girls interact with their Negro teachers about as often as do Negro boys: The overall average is the same for educational goals, but girls are .1 higher than boys for educational goals. For girls, there are more between-school variations than for boys. Their interactions are not much different at North Negro High, but girls interact less with their same-sex teachers at the other two schools.

TABLE 10.16--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Negro Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, Negro Girls: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.8	(267)	2.9	(302)	2.4	(111)	2.3	(114)
Means	1.9	(21)	2.0	(24)	1.7	(13)	2.0	(12)
Support	2.2	(19)	3.0	(15)	2.6	(9)	2.0	(11)
Neither	1.9	(20)	1.8	(24)	1.1	(11)	2.0	(13)
Total	2.6	(327)	2.8	(365)	2.2	(144)	2.2	(150)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	2.3	(20)	2.4	(22)	2.7	(398)	2.7	(438)
Means	---	(0)	---	(0)	1.8	(34)	2.0	(36)
Support	3.0	(1)	4.0	(1)	2.4	(29)	2.6	(27)
Neither	1.3	(3)	2.3	(4)	1.6	(34)	1.9	(41)
Total	2.2	(24)	2.4	(27)	2.5	(495)	2.6	(542)

Negro girls interact with their Negro teachers only slightly more frequently about occupational goals than about educational goals. In the three schools' four states, interaction is highest for occupational goals in 8 of 11 cases. In the summary portion of the table, interaction is highest for occupational goals in all four cases.

The predicted rank orderings of interaction with "Both" highest and "Neither" lowest is found in the values for all schools. But the pattern is imperfectly followed in the data for separate schools. The highest interactions occur in the support case in four of six cases. This is an interesting phenomenon: Even though Negro girls in all schools perceive more teachers with means than with support, the teachers providing Support only are interacted with more frequently than the teachers in the Means only case. This is not the case for Negro boys and their Negro teachers, however. For them, means and support are equally predictive of interaction.

Data for Negro girls and their interactions with white teachers are presented in Table 10.17.

In general, Negro girls interact with white teachers about as frequently as do Negro boys. The perception of white teachers by Negro girls and boys are not different, as both perceive more means than support. The response are somewhat different, however: Negro boys interact more with teachers that provide means; Negro girls, with those that provide support.

TABLE 10.17--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with White Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, Negro Girls: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.7	(209)	2.9	(242)	2.4	(102)	3.0	(111)
Means	1.8	(26)	2.0	(26)	1.7	(11)	1.7	(14)
Support	1.8	(16)	3.0	(17)	2.0	(6)	2.1	(10)
Neither	1.7	(23)	1.8	(33)	1.2	(14)	1.7	(13)
Total	2.5	(274)	2.7	(318)	2.2	(133)	2.7	(148)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	2.2	(17)	2.3	(15)	2.6	(328)	2.9	(368)
Means	1.0	(1)	1.0	(1)	1.8	(38)	1.9	(41)
Support	3.0	(1)	4.0	(1)	1.9	(23)	2.7	(28)
Neither	1.8	(5)	2.0	(3)	1.5	(42)	1.8	(49)
Total	2.1	(24)	2.3	(20)	2.4	(431)	2.7	(486)

For both groups, the rates of interaction with cross-race teachers decreases as the number of cross-race teachers increase, from North Negro, to North Mixed, to North White High Schools. In spite of the fact that white teachers in the schools where they are a large majority provide as many opportunities, and probably more (for one things, simply because there are more of them), interaction with these teachers decreases. This certainly suggests that interaction is determined not only by the opportunities provided by a referent. These data suggest there is a third variable influencing the relationships between opportunities and interaction. Interaction varies directly with opportunities, but interaction is inversely related to this third variable. Symbolically, I = O/S, where S is the third variable. It is apparent that this third variable measures some sort of psychological cost, discomfort, or disutility in interaction with referents. This more complex relationship will be the topic of the next section of this chapter.

Negro girls, like Negro boys, interact with white teachers more frequently about occupational goals than about educational goals. There are two ties, but no exceptions to this generalization.

The predicted orderings of interaction are followed in the total distributions. Breakdowns by schools, however, shows a pattern of exceptions almost identical to that obtained in the table for Negro girls and Negro teachers.

In both tables, support was found to be most predictive of interaction for occupational goals at North Negro, and for both goals at North White. In the Negro teachers case, support was also most predictive of interaction for educational goals at North Mixed High School.

Data on the interactions between white students and their Negro and white teachers are presented in Tables 10.18 and 10.19, respectively.

A striking feature of Table 10.18 is the relative infrequency with which white male students interact with their Negro teachers. The mean rates of interaction are low. For all schools, they are 1.6 for both educational and occupational goals. (As stated, "1" denotes "Never" interacting and "2" denotes "Seldom" interacting.) The value 2.0 is exceeded only in the case of "Both" means and support. Only at North Negro do the interaction frequencies exceed 3.0, or "Sometimes."

Negro boys and white boys make about as much cross-race interaction at North Negro High, but white boys make far less at North Mixed and North White High Schools.

The rate of interaction for occupational goals is only very slightly higher than that for educational goals. For the twelve cases, occupational goals receive the greater interaction 3 times, there are 5 ties, education is greater 2 times, and 2 cases are not comparable. In the summary part of the table, occupational goals are a subject of more

TABLE 10.18--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Negro Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, White Boys: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	4.0	(1)	3.5	(2)	2.1	(54)	2.4	(51)
Means	2.0	(1)	---	(0)	1.5	(10)	1.5	(6)
Support	2.0	(1)	---	(0)	1.5	(8)	1.5	(17)
Neither	2.0	(1)	1.0	(1)	1.2	(37)	1.2	(62)
Total	2.5	(4)	2.7	(3)	1.7	(109)	1.7	(136)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	1.9	(96)	2.2	(90)	2.0	(151)	2.3	(143)
Means	1.5	(22)	1.5	(15)	1.5	(33)	1.5	(21)
Support	1.5	(18)	1.6	(35)	1.5	(27)	1.6	(52)
Neither	1.2	(82)	1.2	(130)	1.2	(120)	1.2	(193)
Total	1.6	(218)	1.6	(270)	1.6	(331)	1.6	(409)

interaction in two instances, and there are two ties. White boys show a propensity to interact with their Negro teachers in a context of a specific type of goal--educational, as opposed to the more diffuse goal--occupational. Thus, white boys interact seldom with Negro teachers, and the few interactions that do occur are limited to specific goals.

The predicted rank order is followed without exception, though both support and means tie neither for educational goals at North Negro High.

In general, support has been more predictive of interaction than means. But in this case, the two types of opportunities are virtually equal, with a .1 difference in favor of support for occupational goals at North White High.

Data for white boys and their white teachers are presented in Table 10.19.

White boys interact more frequently with their white teachers than with their Negro teachers. Their responses, however, indicate a level of interaction lower than that of any other combination of boy or girl Negro students and their Negro or white teachers.

White boys interact at virtually the same frequency with Negro teachers that provide support and means. For white teachers, however, support is clearly the most predictive of interaction. In the five comparable cases at the three schools, means are more predictive in one case, support in one case, and there is one tie. The totals for all schools

TABLE 10.19--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with White Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, White Boys: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	3.0	(2)	3.5	(2)	2.4	(153)	2.7	(126)
Means	2.0	(1)	1.0	(1)	1.8	(17)	1.7	(12)
Support	2.0	(1)	---	(0)	1.6	(14)	1.8	(31)
Neither	---	(0)	1.0	(1)	1.4	(21)	1.3	(51)
Total	2.5	(4)	2.2	(4)	2.2	(205)	2.2	(220)
	North White High School				Total All High Schools			
Both	2.5	(337)	2.6	(258)	2.5	(492)	2.6	(386)
Means	1.7	(37)	1.5	(26)	1.7	(55)	1.6	(39)
Support	1.8	(41)	2.0	(78)	1.8	(56)	1.9	(109)
Neither	1.5	(61)	1.3	(118)	1.5	(82)	1.3	(170)
Total	2.3	(476)	2.1	(480)	2.3	(685)	2.1	(704)

show that support generates more frequent interaction than means. The higher interaction for means with the Negro teachers as opposed to white teachers supports the view that interactions between white boys and Negro teachers are goal-specific, and, relative to other distributions, are confined to formal contexts.

The predicted pattern, with highest interaction occurring in the "Both" case and lowest in the "Neither" case is followed at North Mixed and North White High Schools. At North Negro High, where the sample size is 4 for each goal, "Both" produces the highest interaction, as predicted. The "Neither" case occurs only for occupational goals, and ties the "Mean" case for lowest interaction. The total distributions follow the predicted partial ordering.

Data for interactions between white girls and their Negro teachers are presented in Table 10.20.

Both white boys and girls interact with Negro teachers least where the proportion of Negro teachers in their school is least. White girls interact with their Negro teachers more often than do white boys, though the rate of interaction is low for both white sex groups.

The rate of interaction for white girls and Negro teacher for occupational goals is higher than for educational goals. The difference is least where the number of Negro teachers is least.

TABLE 10.20--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Negro Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, White Girls: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	3.0	(3)	4.0	(2)	2.0	(61)	2.5	(64)
Means	---	(0)	---	(0)	1.5	(12)	1.7	(74)
Support	---	(0)	---	(0)	2.7	(3)	2.2	(9)
Neither	---	(0)	---	(0)	1.1	(23)	1.5	(32)
Total	3.0	(3)	4.0	(2)	1.8	(99)	2.1	(112)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	1.9	(129)	2.2	(105)	1.9	(193)	2.3	(171)
Means	1.6	(19)	1.5	(10)	1.6	(31)	1.6	(17)
Support	1.3	(12)	1.8	(37)	1.6	(15)	1.8	(46)
Neither	1.1	(71)	1.3	(109)	1.1	(94)	1.3	(141)
Total	1.6	(231)	1.7	(261)	1.7	(333)	1.8	(375)

The predicted rank ordering is followed in three of four comparable cases. In the total distributions, the pattern is followed for both goals.

Support is more predictive of interaction than means, with the exception of educational goals at North White High School. The total distribution for educational goals shows a tie between the interaction rates for support and means. For occupational goals, support is, in all cases, more predictive of interaction.

Finally, data on interactions between white girls and white teachers are presented in Table 10.21.

White girls interact with their white teachers much more than with their Negro teachers. They interact with white teachers more than do white boys.

The interactions are more frequent for occupational goals than for educational goals. The differences are more pronounced than they are for white girls and Negro teachers. In the nine comparable cases in the schools, interaction is highest for occupational goals eight times, and there is one tie. In the summary part of the table, the pattern is followed for all four states of perceived means and supports.

The predicted rank ordering is followed in three of four comparable cases. For educational goals at North White High, Means and Neither tie for the lowest values. In the total distribution, the pattern is followed for both goals.

TABLE 10.21--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with White Teachers About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, White Girls: Northern Schools.

State	North Negro High School				North Mixed High School			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.8	(4)	3.5	(2)	2.3	(113)	2.8	(134)
Means	---	(0)	---	(0)	1.4	(12)	1.6	(11)
Support	---	(0)	---	(0)	2.2	(11)	2.4	(16)
Neither	---	(0)	---	(0)	1.0	(11)	1.3	(23)
Total	2.8	(4)	3.5	(2)	2.1	(147)	2.5	(184)
	North White High School				Total All Northern Schools			
Both	2.4	(387)	2.6	(370)	2.4	(504)	2.7	(506)
Means	1.5	(36)	1.8	(31)	1.5	(48)	1.7	(42)
Support	1.8	(44)	2.2	(71)	1.9	(55)	2.2	(87)
Neither	1.5	(58)	1.5	(119)	1.3	(69)	1.4	(142)
Total	2.2	(525)	2.3	(591)	2.2	(676)	2.4	(777)

In every comparable case, support is more predictive of interaction than is means.

One particularly interesting datum has been uncovered by this rather extensive discussion of data on teachers as interactive reference groups. It was found that instrumental means are most predictive of interaction with cross-race teachers, and that expressive support is most predictive of interaction with same-race teachers. To obtain a clearer picture of this, by a simple ratio of interaction for means, to interaction for support for each student and teacher group. Data are presented in Table 10.22.

TABLE 10.22--Ratios of Average Interaction for Means to Average Interaction for Support, With Cross-Race and Same-Race Teachers, for Educational and Occupational Goals, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Race Sex	Educational Goals		Occupational Goals	
	Same-Race Teacher	Cross-Race Teachers	Same-Race Teachers	Cross-Race Teachers
Negro Boys	1.00	1.12	1.00	1.14
Negro Girls	.75	.95	.77	.70
White Boys	.94	1.00	.84	.94
White Girls	.74	1.00	.74	.89

This pattern, with the ratio of means to support being higher for cross-race teachers, obtains in seven of the eight cases. A possible explanation was introduced on page 372, and will be elaborated in the next section of this chapter.

The data for peers were broken down by neither race nor sex. As a result, between-school variations are difficult to interpret. These data are presented in Table 10.23.

This table shows weak race and sex differences in interaction with friends in school with regard to educational and occupational goals. Girls are slightly more apt to interact than boys, and whites more than Negroes. These results are consistent with Chapter V, in which an increase in peer orientation was viewed as an index of socialization, and with Chapter III, in which socialization is posited to occur most rapidly and successfully for girls and whites as compared to boys and Negroes.

For the cases that match goals and race sex groups, support is more predictive of interaction than means in six cases, and support for two.

Interaction is in general higher for occupational goals than for educational goals. In the sixteen cases comparing goals by states for each race sex group, highest interaction occurs for occupational goals in fifteen cases.

The predicted rank order, with highest interaction occurring in the "Both" case, and the least frequent occurring in the "Neither" case, is followed in seven of eight cases. The exception is occupational goals for Negro girls, where the "Means" case results in the most frequent interaction.

A summary of the average interactions with the seven referents, two goals, and four race sex groups is presented in Table 10.24.

TABLE 10.23--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Friends at School About Educational and Occupational Goals, by State of Perceived Expressive Support and Instrumental Means, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

State	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Both	2.7	(102)	2.9	(97)	2.8	(225)	2.9	(176)
Means	1.8	(25)	2.3	(21)	1.8	(38)	2.0	(40)
Support	1.9	(50)	2.1	(58)	2.2	(85)	2.3	(128)
Neither	1.5	(136)	1.6	(101)	1.5	(203)	1.6	(252)
Total	2.0	(313)	2.2	(277)	2.2	(551)	2.2	(596)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Both	3.1	(88)	2.9	(92)	3.0	(173)	3.2	(206)
Means	2.1	(23)	3.2	(14)	2.0	(42)	2.4	(41)
Support	2.2	(51)	2.3	(51)	2.4	(83)	2.6	(196)
Neither	1.5	(141)	1.5	(159)	1.7	(269)	1.8	(227)
Total	2.1	(303)	2.1)	(316)	2.2	(567)	2.5	(670)

TABLE 10.24--Mean Average Frequency of Interaction with Each of Seven Referents About Educational and Occupational Goals, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

Referent	Negro Boys				White Boys			
	Educational		Occupational		Educational		Occupational	
	Mean	(Rank)	Mean	(Rank)	Mean	(Rank)	Mean	(Rank)
Mother	3.3	(1)	3.7	(1)	3.0	(1)	3.2	(2)
Father	3.0	(2)	3.4	(2)	2.9	(2)	3.3	(1)
Older Sisters	2.6	(3)	2.8	(4)	2.3	(4)	2.5	(4)
Older Brothers	2.4	(5)	3.1	(3)	2.5	(3)	3.2	(2)
Negro Teachers	2.5	(4)	2.7	(5)	1.6	(7)	1.6	(7)
White Teachers	2.4	(5)	2.7	(5)	2.3	(4)	2.1	(6)
Friends	2.0	(7)	2.2	(7)	2.2	(6)	2.2	(5)
	Negro Girls				White Girls			
Mother	3.7	(1)	4.0	(1)	3.1	(1)	3.6	(1)
Father	3.2	(2)	3.7	(2)	3.0	(2)	3.3	(2)
Older Sisters	2.8	(3)	3.1	(3)	2.3	(4)	3.1	(3)
Older Brothers	2.6	(4)	2.9	(4)	2.4	(3)	2.5	(4)
Negro Teachers	2.5	(5)	2.6	(6)	1.7	(7)	1.8	(7)
White Teachers	2.4	(6)	2.7	(5)	2.2	(5)	2.4	(6)
Friends	2.1	(7)	2.1	(7)	2.2	(5)	2.5	(4)

All race sex groups but white boys interact most frequently with their mothers for both goals. White boys rank their fathers highest for occupational goals. The mother is, as has been shown in many contexts, an important socializer in the Negro family relative to the white family.

White boys rank their brothers higher than do Negro boys to a slight extent, and white girls more than their brothers higher than do Negro girls. In the Negro home, both male parents and male siblings are interacted with less often than the female parents and female siblings, respectively.

Negro youth interact with their teachers more than white youth. Within the Negro group, there is a slight preference for Negro teachers. White students have an even more pronounced same-race preference in their interactions with teachers. In all four cases for white students, Negro teachers are interacted with less than any other referent.

For Negro students, friends at school are interacted with less than any other referent. White students interact with peers more frequently than do Negro students.

Interaction, Opportunities, and Intervening Opportunities: A Mathematical Model

In the preceeding section, it was shown that expressive support and instrumental means are predictive of interaction with seven types of referents. It was suggested that there is a third variable, that has not been considered, that influences the relationship between opportunities and interaction. Interaction was found to vary directly with opportunities, but was hypothesized to vary inversely with a third variable, which is the "cost" or "disutility" involved in interaction. In this section, the relationship between opportunities, the new variable, and interaction, will be formalized. The model to be presented was developed for an earlier report by this author.[14] It is a reformulation of Stouffer's demographic law of intervening opportunities.[15]

Stouffer found that there is no necessary linear relationship between mobility and distance, i.e., between the number of people (or families) moving and the distance moved, as was formulated in a classic statement by Ravenstein, that "Most people go a short distance, few people go a long distance."[16] Stouffer introduced the concept of intervening opportunities, and formulated and confirmed the following proposition:

> . . . the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.[17]

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[14] *Ibid*., pp. 48-64.

[15] Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (1940), pp. 845-867.

[16] E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), pp. 167-235.

[17] Stouffer, *op. cit*., p. 847.

This demographic statement was generalized to apply to social interaction with socializing reference groups. Instead of migration to a physical point, we have interaction with a referent. Instead of distance in miles or cost, we have social distance measured in terms of "disutility" or psychological "cost" or "unpleasantness" in interacting with a referent. Finally, just as people migrate over physical space to attain rewards, i.e., because they perceive opportunities at the point of destination, people will interact with a referent that provides opportunities to help that person attain goals.

Bassett has suggested that Stouffer's intervening opportunities hypothesis would be improved by considering perceived rather than actual opportunities. Clearly this approach is followed here, in a manner consistent with the concept of "bounded rationality."

With these remarks in mind, we can now state Hypothesis 5.

> Hypothesis 5: The number of students interacting at a high frequency with referents a given social distance away is directly proportional to the perceived opportunities of those referents to help the student attain goals, and inversely proportional to the intervening opportunities.

Each social distance can be considered to be of width ΔS. The opportunity at each distance will be denoted $\Delta X/\Delta S$. The intervening opportunities can be defined as the sum of the opportunities at all distances closer than S:

$$X = \sum_{s=1}^{s-1} \frac{\Delta X}{\Delta S}.$$

The number of students interacting at a high frequency with referents at a given social distance is denoted $\Delta I/\Delta S$.

By utilizing this notation, Hypothesis 5 can be formally stated as a difference equation:

$$\frac{\Delta I}{\Delta S} = \frac{k}{X} \frac{\Delta X}{\Delta S}, \qquad (1)$$

where k is a constant.

Social distance in the above proposition will be used in a manner somewhat different than in the usual sociological treatment.

Social distance was a concept first developed by Bogardus in 1925, for the measurement of attitudes toward ethnic and racial groups.[18] Since then, some changes in the concept have occurred, but the basic emphasis remains on the negative discomfort caused by contact with some group.[19]

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[18] Emory S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Origins," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9 (1925), pp. 216-226; Emory S. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9 (1925), pp. 229-308.

[19] Bogardus did not define the concept entirely in this negative way, as he defined social distance as ". . . the sympathetic understanding that exists between persons, between groups and between a person and each of his groups . . . (social distance) may take the form of either farness or nearness. Where there is little sympathetic understanding, social farness exists. When sympathetic understanding is great, nearness exists." Emory S. Bogardus, *Sociology* (New York: MacMillan, 1941, Revised Edition), p. 106.

The concept of social distance is closely related to discrimination directed to a group in sociological literature. On this, Becker writes, "To the sociologist, different levels of discrimination against a particular group are associated with different levels of social and physical 'distance' from that group . . ."[20]

A concept is often the negative of something that has a positive. The negative and the positive are a variable. Social distance is negative only, and is consequently a concept. By defining social distance discrimination as disutility or unpleasantness caused by interaction with a referent, and social distance nepotism as the positive utility and pleasantness caused by interaction, social distance can be regarded as a true variable, with a "natural" zero point. This is consistent with Allport, who has distinguished between negative and positive prejudice.[21] This is identical with Becker's distinction between a taste for discrimination and a taste for nepotism.[22]

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[20] Gary S. Becker, The Economics of Discrimination (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 6.

[21] Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1955), p. 67. He also writes that ". . . we hear so little about love (positive) prejudices 'because' prejudices of this sort create no social problems," ibid., p. 25, cited in Becker, op. cit., p. 7. Becker adds that Allport is mistaken in this ". . . since the social and economic implications of positive prejudice or nepotism are very similar to those of negative prejudice or discrimination," ibid., p. 7ff.

[22] Becker, op. cit., p. 7ff.

The following items were used to measure social distance.

> To what extent would it be PLEASANT or UNPLEASANT to go to each of these kinds of people for help about going to college?
>
> To what extent would it be PLEASANT or UNPLEASANT to go to go to each of these kinds of people for help in getting the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling?

The following alternatives were offered to these items:

1 = Would be very pleasant.
2 = Somewhat pleasant.
3 = Neither pleasant nor unpleasant.
4 = Somewhat unpleasant.
5 = Very unpleasant.

Clearly the value one represents the least social distance and the value five represents the greatest social distance.

Earlier in this chapter, it was established that there is a functional relationship between interaction and opportunities (means and support, M and D). Equation (1) gives the specific nature of the function $I = f(M,D)$. We still need $X_s = g(M,D)$. The overall task is thus to determine the composite function $I = f(g(M,D))$.

First of all, we will construct a simple operational definition of the functional relationship between opportunities, and means and support. A linear model is sufficient for this purpose. Thus, we define

$$X_s = a_1M + a_2S$$

where a_1 can be regarded as the average amount of opportunities caused by means, in the absence of support. Similarly,

a_2 can be regarded as the average amount of opportunities caused by support, in the absence of means. M refers to the number of referents at a given distance that provide means (only, or with support), and D refers to the number of referents at that distance that provide support (only, or with means).

The values of the constants are taken from the results of the preceeding section. For example, in Table 10.10, the constants for opportunities provided to Negro boys by their mothers with respect to educational goals are $a_1 = 2.9$ and $a_2 = 3.5$.

Finally, high interaction with a referent with respect to a goal will be defined as a response of "Very often" or "Often" to the question on how often the student interacts with a given referent.

Each variable in Equation (1) has now been operationally defined.

One difficulty in using a model of this form is that intervening opportunities are not defined at the least distance, and the function $1/X(\Delta X/\Delta S)$ is not defined for $X = 0$. This has been a problem in using this model. The difficulty can be obviated in a straightforward manner. By assuming continuity, i.e., that

$$\frac{dI}{dS} = \frac{k}{X} \frac{dX}{dS} \qquad (2)$$

and integrating the differential equation, we obtain

$$I = k \ln X + C. \qquad (3)$$

Since from Equation (3), we have the relationship

$$I = k \ln X,$$

we can go to the form of Equation (2) by differentiation:

$$D_s I = k\, D_s \ln X = k/X(dX/dS).$$

In terms of finite differences, we use the computational formula:

$$I_s = k \ln X_s. \qquad (4)$$

The constant k in the above equation is defined as $\sum I_s / \sum \ln X_s$. This assures that the predicted and observed totals will be equal. Predicting I_s from the logarithms rather than from Equation (1) enables us to make predictions at the closest social distance, where there are no "intervening" opportunities, i.e., where $X = 0$ in Equation (1).

The formulation $I = k\ln X$ has a substantive interpretation, as does the differentiated form of the relationship. The relationship states that interaction varies as the natural logarithm of opportunities. With each increment of opportunities presented as a "stimulus" to the responding person, interaction is produced. But each increment of opportunities produces a diminishing increase, i.e., there is a negative second derivative. In terms of utility theory, we could say that diminishing returns set in for the profit (interaction) generated by investments of interaction. In terms of stimulus-response theory, we could say that the response to a stimulus varies as the logarithm of the intensity of the stimulus. This functional relationship has been long known in experimental psychology as Fechner's law, which he wrote as

$$S = K \log R.$$

R is the German abbreviation for stimulus, so this states that the strength of the sensation varies directly as the logarithm of the stimulus.[23] As Ruch wrote:

> Whatever its original derivation, Fechner's equation appears to express a fundamental feature of sense organ behavior. Over a certain range of intensities, the frequency of discharge is a linear function of the logarithm of the stimulus.[24]

Ruch's point that the law applies to a "certain range of intensities" must be considered in using the logarithm of the opportunity value as a prediction for interaction. Here, the values of opportunities were such that it was necessary to use $10^{-2}X$ as a measure of opportunities.

This logarithmic relationship represents the basis for the sixth hypothesis of this chapter:

> Hypothesis 6: The greater the perceived opportunities to obtain help from a referent, the more frequent the interaction with that referent. For increasing opportunities provided by a referent, interaction increases, but at a decreasing rate. Interaction varies as the natural logarithm of opportunities.

The computational procedure used here will not be displayed for all of the 56 cases of four race sex groups, seven referents, and two goals. In Table 10.25, the procedure is illustrated for Negro boys, their mothers, and educational goals.

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[23] G. T. Fechner, Elements der Psychophysik (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1860), pp. 192, 226, and 235.

[24] T. C. Ruch, "The Nervous System," in J. F. Fulton, ed., Howell's Textbook of Physiology (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1946), p. 314.

The statistical model to test the goodness of fit between the observed and predicted frequencies of high interaction will be the Kolmogorov-Smirnov One-Sample Test, with two tails.

TABLE 10.25--Computational Procedure Used in Determining Observed and Predicted Frequencies of High Interaction Between Negro Boys and Their Mothers with Respect to Educational Goals: Northern Schools.

S	I_s	X_s	ΣX_s	ln X	ln X_s	k ln X_s
1	320	3.6280	3.6280	1.2887	1.2887	317
2	32	.4990	4.1270	1.4175	.1288	31
3	9	.1837	4.3107	1.4610	.0435	11
4	1	.0506	4.3613	1.4725	.0115	3
5	3	.0506	4.4119	1.4843	.0118	3
Total	365				1.4843	365

k = 365/1.4843 = 245.9072; Kolmogorov-Smirnov D=.010, p>.99

The data for all 56 theoretical and observed distributions of high interaction over the five social distances are presented in Table 10.26.

TABLE 10.26--Observed and Predicted Frequencies of High Interaction Between Each of Seven Referents and Negro and White Boys and Girls, at Each Social Distance (S), With Respect to Educational and Occupational Goals: Northern Schools.

		Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
Referent	S	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.
				Educational Goals					
	1	320	317	538	542	317	291	404	377
	2	32	31	34	29	46	58	45	56
Mother	3	9	11	7	9	18	28	16	27
	4	1	3	3	2	2	4	1	5
	5	3	3	1	1	2	4	4	5
Total		365	365	583	583	385	385	470	470
		D = .010		D = .008		D = .067		D = .042	
		p > .99		p > .99		p = .06		p = .38	
	1	202	167	326	291	291	235	301	240
	2	41	63	52	73	39	74	44	83
Father	3	9	18	2	12	19	34	12	28
	4	1	5	2	4	2	7	2	7
	5	2	2	0	2	5	6	4	5
Total		255	255	382	382	356	356	363	363
		D = .149		D = .091		D = .157		D = .168	
		p < .01		p > .99		p < .01		p < .01	

TABLE 10.26--Continued.

Referent	S	Negro Boys Obs.	Negro Boys Pred.	Negro Girls Obs.	Negro Girls Pred.	White Boys Obs.	White Boys Pred.	White Girls Obs.	White Girls Pred.
	1	52	52	62	61	41	37	47	42
	2	12	13	11	11	11	13	9	12
Older Sister	3	5	4	2	4	5	6	3	5
	4	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Total		71	71	77	77	58	58	60	60
		$D = .013$ $p > .99$		$D = .013$ $p > .99$		$D = .068$ $p > .99$		$D = .083$ $p = .81$	
	1	42	40	55	55	55	51	30	33
	2	7	9	12	14	7	10	16	13
Older Brother	3	2	4	3	4	2	5	4	5
	4	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
	5	1	1	2	1	3	0	1	1
Total		54	54	74	74	67	67	52	52
		$D = .037$ $p > .99$		$D = .040$ $p > .99$		$D = .060$ $p = .97$		$D = .058$ $p > .99$	
	1	81	87	64	81	9	6	9	8
	2	27	18	22	17	7	8	7	6
Negro Teachers	3	3	6	12	6	2	3	0	4
	4	1	1	5	1	0	1	1	0
	5	1	1	3	1	0	0	1	0
Total		113	113	106	106	18	18	18	18
		$D = .053$ $p = .91$		$D = .160$ $p < .01$		$D = .167$ $p = .70$		$D = .111$ $p = .53$	

TABLE 10.26--Continued.

Referent	S	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
		Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.
	1	66	65	54	57	61	71	53	62
	2	18	17	15	15	30	23	27	19
White	3	6	6	7	6	14	11	6	7
Teachers	4	0	2	4	1	1	1	4	1
	5	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	1
Total		91	91	80	80	108	108	90	90
		D = .022		D = .038		D = .092		D = .100	
		p > .99		p > .99		p = .33		p = .33	
	1	19	12	22	12	32	33	52	53
	2	12	16	19	25	23	22	27	23
Peers	3	4	8	6	11	9	9	4	9
	4	3	2	4	2	2	1	2	1
	5	2	2	0	1	0	1	2	1
Total		40	40	51	51	66	66	87	87
		D = .075		D = .196		D = .015		D = .032	
		p = .98		p = .04		p > .99		p > .99	

TABLE 10.26--Continued.

Referent	S	Negro Boys Obs.	Negro Boys Pred.	Negro Girls Obs.	Negro Girls Pred.	White Boys Obs.	White Boys Pred.	White Girls Obs.	White Girls Pred.
Occupational Goals									
Mother	1	287	260	555	547	323	293	601	617
	2	35	48	36	41	80	89	96	82
	3	6	17	6	11	27	41	28	27
	4	4	5	3	2	4	7	2	4
	5	3	5	3	2	2	6	5	2
Total		335	335	603	603	436	436	732	732
		D = .080 p = .03		D = .013 p > .99		D = .069 p = .03		D = .022 p = .87	
Father	1	247	198	310	275	381	362	431	402
	2	50	80	69	91	103	109	115	125
	3	6	13	4	15	34	42	26	39
	4	2	3	2	4	5	9	1	6
	5	3	4	2	2	5	6	3	4
Total		308	308	387	387	528	528	576	576
		D = .159 p > .99		D = .091 p > .99		D = .036 p = .50		D = .050 p = .11	

TABLE 10.26--Continued.

Referent	S	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
		Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.	Obs.	Pred.
Older Sister	1	47	45	84	89	43	42	111	120
	2	9	10	20	16	15	15	30	22
	3	2	3	6	5	7	7	5	4
	4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	5	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Total		59	59	111	111	66	66	148	148
		D = .017		D = .045		D = .016		D = .061	
		p > .99		p = .98		p > .99		p > .99	
Older Brother	1	65	64	63	55	76	82	63	63
	2	15	15	11	14	29	22	21	20
	3	1	3	1	5	7	7	3	4
	4	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	1
	5	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Total		84	84	75	75	114	114	88	88
		D = .014		D = .107		D = .052		D = .011	
		p > .99		p = .35		p = .91		p > .99	
Negro Teachers	1	83	92	102	108	26	13	21	18
	2	34	22	25	22	6	13	12	11
	3	5	7	8	5	4	8	3	5
	4	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	1
	5	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Total		123	123	137	137	36	36	36	36
		D = .076		D = .044		D = .361		D = .111	
		p = .48		p = .96		p < .01		p = .76	

TABLE 10.26--Continued.

Referent	S	Negro Boys Obs.	Negro Boys Pred.	Negro Girls Obs.	Negro Girls Pred.	White Boys Obs.	White Boys Pred.	White Girls Obs.	White Girls Pred.
White Teachers	1	71	88	89	93	78	78	86	96
	2	39	22	22	21	23	25	37	30
	3	8	9	7	6	15	13	12	10
	4	1	1	3	2	0	2	1	2
	5	2	1	1	0	3	1	2	0
Total		121	121	122	122	119	119	138	138
		D = .140 p = .02		D = .032 p > .99		D = .017 p > .99		D = .078 p = .38	
Peers	1	25	19	30	24	42	36	77	95
	2	15	17	18	22	19	22	50	39
	3	5	8	7	6	8	11	14	12
	4	0	1	0	2	4	3	4	2
	5	2	2	0	1	0	1	4	1
Total		47	47	55	55	73	73	149	149
		D = .128 p = .42		D = .109 p = .53		D = .082 p = .71		D = .086 p > .99	

In the preceeding table, a high probability associated with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic, call it p(D), indicates a good fit between the observed and theoretical distributions. Similarly, a low probability indicates a poor fit between the observed and theoretical distributions. Twenty-four of the distributions in Table 10.25 have probabilities larger than .99, and twenty-eight have probabilities larger than .95. On the other hand, five p(D)'s are less than .01, and nine are less than .05. The model tends to either fit very well or not to fit well at all.

If it is assumed that the fifty-six instances are statistically independent, a Chi-square test can be used to determine whether or not the number of distributions with probabilities smaller than some critical value is large enough to reject the null hypothesis that the observed and theoretical distributions are from the same population. For a one-tailed test, it can be expected by chance that ten per cent of the fifty-six distributions have a p(D) less than .05. The results of the Chi-square are presented in Table 10.27.

Under the assumption of independence in the fifty-six distributions, the number of distributions expected to exceed the critical value of D, by chance alone, is 5.6. The actual number of distributions that do so is 9. The difference, however, is not statistically significant.

TABLE 10.27--Chi-Square Test for Observed and Expected Frequencies of Distributions for Which the Probability of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov D Statistic Has a Probability of Less than Five Per Cent.

Number of Distributions	Critical Value of D		Total
	$p > .05$	$p < .05$	
Observed	47	9	56
Expected	50.4	5.6	56
Total	97.4	14.6	112

$X^2(1) = .91$, n. s.

The assumption of independence is a false assumption. The samples are drawn not from 56 groups, but from four groups, each of which provided 14 sets of information. The groups themselves were not randomly drawn. Further, for any sample group, the frequency of interaction with any given referent is not independent of interaction with any other referent. For any sample group and referent, the interaction with respect to one goal is not independent of interaction with respect to the other goal. Hence, the non-independence of the samples biases the X^2 statistic in favor of the substantive hypothesis.

There are non-statistical arguments, however, that bear positively on the validity of the hypothesis.

First of all, though there is variability in the probabilities in Table 10.26, the magnitudes of these probabilities are distributed throughout this table in a relatively random manner. Of the nine probabilities less than five per cent, three are associated with Negro boys, three with white boys, two with Negro girls, and two with white girls. Five are for educational goals, and four for occupational goals. There is a concentration of small p's for fathers and educational goals (three of four less than .01), but the probabilities do not concentrate for any referent: There are three for father, two for mother, two for Negro teachers, and one each for white teachers and for peers.

Secondly, there is an apparent differential between the fit of the theoretical and empirical distributions and the stability of the phenomenon. There is a systematic deficiency in the model: It fits in general, but systematically underestimates the interaction at the closest social distance. In seven of the nine cases for which p(D) is less than .05, the frequency of interaction is underestimated at this closest distance. For the remaining forty-seven cases, however, the incidence of underestimation is not significantly greater than the incidence of overestimation. Twenty-five cases are underestimated, four perfectly predicted, and twenty over-predicted. It can be concluded that when the model fails to predict adequately, it characteristically underpredicts interaction at the least distance (and overpredicts at the second distance).

Hence, although the model may not express the observed reality as well as some other model, it does indicate that there is a stable phenomena in the empirical world, that is at least crudely described by Hypotheses 5 and 6.

The model has been postulated to obtain for any group, any referent, and any goal. Though some qualitative non-statistical evidence has been presented in support of this in the two preceeding paragraphs, further testing is needed. These tests should have more adequate data, as here we have only rank order data with too few scale points. Other kinds of goals should be considered. Also, large samples should be drawn independently from many groups.

Interaction and Goal Attainment

In the preceeding section a model was developed to predict high interaction between referents and socializees with respect to educational and occupational goals. High interaction was shown to be a function of perceived social distance, and perceived opportunities (means and support). A reasonable next step is to demonstrate that high interaction is in turn positively related to goal aspirations and to goal attainment. Data gathered to establish this relationship produced generally favorable results for both educational and occupational goals, and for academic performance in the high school. The strongest results were obtained for educational goals that students aspire to and plan to attain. Here, only the data for interaction and educational aspirations and plans will be presented. School will be controlled for only referents that are in the school, i.e., for Negro teachers, white teachers, and peers.

The data are based on responses to the following questions, for educational aspirations and plans, respectively:

> If you had your choice, what would you like to do after you leave high school?
>
> What do you think you really will do after you leave high school?

The responses to this item were dichotomized as "College" or "Non College."

Data for phi coefficients between students of each race sex group and their parents and siblings are presented in Table 10.28. Positive correlations are predicted for all cases, as they represent a matching of high interaction and college plans or aspirations, and low interaction and non-college plans or aspirations.

All 32 coefficients in this table are significantly different from zero at the .01 level.

The corresponding coefficients for plans and aspirations reveal a stable pattern. In all 16 corresponding cases, the phi coefficient is higher for plans than for aspirations. The differences are small and relatively invariant. The difference ranges from .01 to .07, and has

TABLE 10.28--Phi Coefficients for High Interaction with Parents and Older Siblings, and College Plans and Aspirations, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

College Plans or Aspirations	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
Referent	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)
Plans								
Mother	.28**	(953)	.28**	(1088)	.38**	(1360)	.45**	(1409)
Father	.25**	(870)	.26**	(945)	.41**	(1308)	.43**	(1289)
Older Sister	.20**	(386)	.21**	(445)	.27**	(451)	.29**	(495)
Older Brother	.15**	(381)	.14**	(397)	.28**	(484)	.25**	(496)
Aspirations								
Mother	.26**	(959)	.24**	(111)	.35**	(1394)	.44**	(1423)
Father	.24**	(618)	.22**	(966)	.38**	(1341)	.41**	(1313)
Older Sister	.13**	(387)	.17**	(452)	.24**	(471)	.24**	(504)
Older Brother	.10**	(381)	.12**	(402)	.26**	(497)	.24**	(491)

a mean of .031 and an average deviation of .013. All statements in the following paragraphs are applicable to both plans and aspirations.

Interaction with parents is more predictive of college-going aspirations and plans for whites than for Negroes, and higher for girls than for boys. The groups that are most successfully socialized are the ones that have the most adequate role socializers. Here, it can be observed that the groups that are theorized to have the best referents benefit most from interaction with these referents.

Among the white group, boys and girls have the highest correlations with their same-sex parents. Among Negroes, however, both boys and girls benefit most from interaction with their mothers. This too is consistent with the theory developed in this text, which postulates that the male parent is a better role socializer in the white group than in the Negro group.

Interaction with siblings, as with parents, is most predictive of attainment among white students. In the white group, both boys and girls have higher correlations with their same-sex siblings. Within the Negro group, as with parents, both boys and girls benefit most from the female referent, i.e., more from their older sisters than from their older brothers. Hence, for both parents and siblings, females are most predictive of success in the Negro group.

Data for interactions with Negro and white teachers and with friends at school are presented in Tables 10.29 and 10.30, respectively.

As with parents and siblings, the phi coefficients for teachers and peers are slightly higher for plans than for aspirations. The differences are not as regular as for the family referents, however. The coefficients are higher for plans in seven of twelve comparisons for All Schools, there is one tie, and plans have lower phi's in four instances. The phi's for plans as opposed to aspirations vary from -.03 to .07, with a mean differences of .026 and an average deviation of .016.

In general, white students have higher correlations between interaction and college plans and aspirations that are higher for same-race teachers, as opposed to cross-race teachers. Negro students, who have more cross-race teachers, benefit equally from both. For both race groups, the correlations for same-race teachers relative to cross-race teachers is greatest where the proportion of same-race teachers is greatest.

Peers are in general more predictive of college plans and aspirations for whites than for Negroes. For white boys, peers are most important at North Mixed, and least at North Negro. For white girls, peers are most predictive at North White, and least at North Negro. For Negro boys and girls, the importance of peers for college plans and aspirations

TABLE 10.29--Phi Coefficients for High Interaction with Teachers and Peers, and College Plans, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
Referent	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)
North Negro								
Negro Teachers	.22**	(465)	.19**	(507)	.00	(6)	.50	(3)
White Teachers	.22*	(448)	.19**	(450)	.00	(6)	.50	(3)
Peers	.02	(398)	.05	(433)	.00	(5)	---	(1)
North Mixed								
Negro Teachers	.26**	(245)	.05	(235)	.16**	(228)	.19**	(190)
White Teachers	.20**	(247)	.15**	(232)	.27**	(299)	.25**	(238)
Peers	.05	(214)	.00	(215)	.21**	(258)	.08	(238)
North White								
Negro Teachers	-.05	(31)	.15	(34)	.08	(421)	.07	(486)
White Teachers	-.08	(32)	.06	(36)	.22**	(770)	.30**	(855)
Peers	.25	(28)	.14	(30)	.11**	(706)	.16**	(804)
All Schools								
Negro Teachers	.21**	(741)	.15**	(625)	.10**	(725)	.11**	(679)
White Teachers	.20**	(727)	.17**	(718)	.23**	(1075)	.29**	(1096)
Peers	.05	(640)	.04	(678)	.14**	(969)	.14**	(1043)

TABLE 10.30--Phi Coefficients for High Interaction with Teachers and Peers, and College Aspirations, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Negro Boys		Negro Girls		White Boys		White Girls	
Referent	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)	Ø	(N)
North Negro								
Negro Teachers	.14**	(474)	.21**	(532)	.63	(6)	.58	(4)
White Teachers	.16**	(457)	.20**	(464)	.63	(6)	.41	(5)
Peers	.04	(405	.02	(448)	.00	(5)	---	(2)
North Mixed								
Negro Teachers	.17**	(241)	.00	(235)	.24**	(237)	.11	(195)
White Teachers	.18**	(241)	.13	(230)	.22**	(309)	.23**	(247)
Peers	.11	(207)	.01	(215)	.17**	(266)	.08	(243)
North White								
Negro Teachers	-.04	(34)	.28	(32)	.04	(504)	.06	(448)
White Teachers	-.10	(32)	.20	(34)	.19**	(792)	.26**	(857)
Peers	.01	(30)	.34	(29)	.0**	(727)	.17**	(804)
All Schools								
Negro Teachers	.4**	(749)	.15**	(787)	.13**	(747)	.08*	(687)
White Teachers	.16**	(732)	.18**	(728)	.19**	(1107)	.25**	(1096)
Peers	.06	(639)	.03	(692)	.12**	(998)	.15**	(1049)

is inversely related to the number of same-race peers in their school.

The data in these three tables demonstrate a functional relationship between interaction and goal attainment. The correlations are in general significant for parents, siblings, and teachers. The results are weaker for peers. These contingency tables are a far weaker variance model than the model used to predict interaction, in the preceeding section of this chapter. It is not surprising that this would be the case. For interaction, as measured here, refers only to the raw frequency of interaction, and not to its content. It should be manifestly clear from the theory developed in this text, that the content of interaction between students and their various referents is of the greatest importance in the outcomes of the socialization process. Clearly, it is not the raw frequency of interaction that produces attainment, but its content. If an increase in interaction produces no increase in opportunities, i.e., if $\partial X/\partial I = 0$, interaction will produce no attainment: That is, if $\partial X/\partial I = 0$, then $\partial A/\partial I = 0$.

Secondly, if a referent provides opportunities, but these opportunities are not utilized, i.e., if $\partial A/\partial X = 0$, an increase in interaction will produce no increase in attainment: That is, if $\partial A/\partial X = 0$, then $\partial A/\partial I = 0$.

Hence, the condition that $\partial A/\partial I > 0$ is true if and only if both $\partial X/\partial I > 0$ and $\partial A/\partial X > 0$. These remarks can be formalized as a multiplicative model:

$$\frac{\partial A}{\partial I} = \frac{\partial A}{\partial X} \frac{\partial X}{\partial I} . \qquad (5)$$

Verbally, we have:

> Hypothesis 7: The increase in attainment (or in aspirations) resulting from an increase in interaction with a referent depends on (1) opportunities being provided by a referent, and (2) these opportunities being utilized.

Data to test this final hypothesis are not presently available. The hypothesis is, however, both plausable and testable. It both emphasizes the incomplete nature of this research, and suggests further directions.

An important stage has been attained, however. For it is now possible to predict interaction with some accuracy. To increase goal attainment, it is necessary to provide socializing referent that are not socially distant, and that provide means and support. Further, it is suggested that it is necessary that these opportunities be utilized by the socializee. It is through interaction that referents with these attributes socialize.

The next task in this research is to theoretically elaborate and empirically examine the nature of the relationships between interaction and attainment. That is, it is necessary to become involved with fundamental processes of learning and socialization: How are new roles learned through interaction? What attributes should the socializer present, and in what temporal order? What, in general, should be the content of interaction?

A cross-sectional analysis based on questionnaire data, in conjunction with a theoretical structure, has provided some direction for solving these problems. But this methodology is not an appropriate instrument for the next stage of this research. Instead, a longitudinal analysis, with controlled manipulation of the socialization process, is required. Hopefully, such research would make it possible to continue to build upon and elaborate the theoretical base developed here. This research has been proposed, and is currently being developed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

A breakdown of the sample by race, sex, and grade is presented in Table A.1 for the two Southern schools, and in Table A.2 for the three Northern schools.

TABLE A.1--Percentages of Students in Each Grade in School, by Race and Sex: Southern Schools.

Grade	South Negro High School		South White High School	
	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
7	22.0	20.8		
8	16.2	14.6		
9	12.6	20.0	26.6	6.2
10	31.9	18.9	23.3	18.0
11	6.3	9.2	29.3	32.8
12	11.0	16.5	20.8	23.0
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	191	230	610	618

TABLE A.2--Percentages of Students in Each Grade in School, by Race and Sex: Northern Schools.

School	Grade	Negro Boys	Negro Girls	White Boys	White Girls
North Negro	10	35.1	37.0	33.3	50.0
	11	33.1	36.0	22.2	37.5
	12	31.8	27.0	44.5	12.5
Total per cent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number		800	887	9	8
North Mixed	10	32.1	31.6	32.8	38.3
	11	41.6	41.1	38.4	31.2
	12	26.3	27.3	28.8	30.5
Total per cent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number		414	436	531	446
North White	10	56.6	53.4	39.0	38.6
	11	24.5	34.5	35.6	34.3
	12	18.9	12.1	25.4	27.1
Total per cent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number		53	58	1223	1286

A different classification was used for the Southern and Northern schools with respect to father's occupation. This was necessitated by the difficulty of coding the responses of Southern students into standard Census Bureau codes. The difficulty was pronounced at South Negro High School. For the South, the classifications used were adapted from Green:[1] (1) Low Status: garbage collector, common laborer, etc.; (2) Respectible Working Class: barber, mechanic, etc.; (3) Working Class Elite: plumber, carpenter, etc.; (4) Middle Class: teacher, mortician, pharmicist, etc.; (5) Elite: major professional groups, presidents of firms, etc. Farmers (both owners and farm workers) were given a separate code, but not included in the analysis.

These categories are on occasion dichotomized in the text. The top two categories are in such cases regarded as "White Collar," and the other three are regarded as "Blue Collar."

The percentages of Southern students having fathers in the various occupational classes are presented in Table A.3.

TABLE A.3--Percentages of Students With Fathers in Various Occupational Classes: Southern Schools.

Occupational Class	South Negro	South White
Elite Class	0.0	11.7
Middle Class	5.0	23.4
Elite Working Class	13.9	32.7
Respectible Working Class	29.4	22.6
Low Status	51.7	9.6
Total per cent	100.0	100.0
Total number	259	1037

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[1] Ernest Green, "Educational Plans and Aspirations of a Selected Group of Negro and Caucasian Students in Segregated Schools" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University, 1964), p. 18.

For the Northern schools, Father's Occupation and Mother's Occupation were coded from the Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census. Coders were instructed to make few assumptions about vague answers (as with the South). For cases where codes could fit equally well into two categories, N.O.R.C. Prestige Scores were used to discriminate.

These categories are on occasion dichotomized as "White Collar" and "Blue Collar." The top three categories are regarded as "Whie Collar," and the lower four as "Blue Collar." Data are presented in Table A.4.

TABLE A.4--Percentages of Students With Fathers and Mothers in Various Occupational Classes: Northern Schools.

Parent/Occupation	North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Father						
Professional, semi-professional, technical, and kindred	5.7	7.7	5.2	4.3	5.1	--
Proprietors, managers officials	11.5	12.0	6.7	6.0	6.6	10.0
Clerical, sales, and kindred	2.3	7.6	3.7	4.8	25.2	20.0
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	13.8	29.9	23.7	34.5	20.1	20.0
Operatives and kindred workers	24.1	20.2	37.1	35.2	26.3	40.0
Service workers, inc. private household	12.6	11.7	13.4	8.4	8.7	10.0
Laborers	29.9	10.9	10.2	6.8	8.0	--
Total per cent	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	87	2276	598	807	930	10

TABLE A.4--Continued

Parent/Occupation	North Negro		North Mixed		North White	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Mother						
Professional, semi-professional, technical, and kindred	3.9	8.3	15.9	1.8	6.2	33.3
Proprietors, managers, officials	7.8	5.6	3.2	4.2	28.8	--
Clerical, sales, and kindred	25.5	44.7	19.7	27.4	10.6	--
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	9.8	2.0	1.0	2.9	0.9	--
Operatives and kindred workers	17.6	8.2	6.0	18.2	11.1	33.3
Service workers, inc. private household	29.4	23.9	51.7	41.4	36.0	33.3
Laborers	5.9	7.3	2.5	4.0	6.4	--
Total per cent	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
Total number	51	928	315	379	577	3

APPENDIX B

FOR BOYS (FOR GIRLS)

A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL
conducted by
Michigan State University

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BOYS (FOR GIRLS)

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out in selected high schools in different regions of the United States. The purpose of this questionnaire is to learn about the interests and attitudes of high school students in various kinds of high school situations. We think you will find the questions easy to answer. Try to answer the questions quickly without spending too much time on any single question. Answer every question in order.

Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel, for no one in this school will ever see the answers. When finished, hand the questionnaire [illegible] research worker who will take them directly to the University for tabulation.

Remember: This is an attitude questionnaire, and not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Most of the questions can be answered by circling a number or inserting a number on a line (like this: 2). Specific instructions are given where needed.

If you come to a problem, raise your hand and the research worker will come to your desk and answer your question.

Questions about your race and the race of others who may help you in getting a job are included in the questionnaire because these are important things to consider if we are to learn about the real problems of high school pupils. If, however, you do not wish to answer any of these questions, you may skip them.

(You may start now)

FOR BOYS (FOR GIRLS)

A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL
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ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BOYS (FOR GIRLS)

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out in selected high schools in different regions of the United States. The purpose of this questionnaire is to learn about the interests and attitudes of high school students in various kinds of high school situations. We think you will find the questions easy to answer. Try to answer the questions quickly without spending too much time on any single question. Answer every question in order.

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If you come to a problem, raise your hand and the research worker will come to your desk and answer your question.

Questions about your race and the race of others who may help you in getting a job are included in the questionnaire because these are important things to consider if we are to learn about the real problems of high school pupils. If, however, you do not wish to answer any of these questions, you may skip them.

(You may start now)

1. What grade are you in? (Circle one number)

   1 Sophomore
   2 Junior
   3 Senior

2. What program are you taking in school? (Circle one number)

   1 Not yet decided
   2 Vocational
   3 Commercial
   4 General
   5 College preparatory
   6 Other. What? ____________________

3. What grade average do you have? (Circle one number)

   1 Have close to an A average
   2 Have close to a B average
   3 Have close to a C average
   4 Have lower than a C average

4. What subjects do you like best in school? (Circle the ones you like best)

   1 Science courses (physics, chemistry, biology, etc.)
   2 Mathematics courses (geometry, algebra, etc.)
   3 Social science (civics, history, etc.)
   4 English (including speech and dramatics)
   5 Shop or vocational courses
   6 Physical education
   7 Foreign languages
   8 Music
   9 Art
   0 Other. What? ____________________

5. Would you say you are a part of a group which are leaders in your school?

   1 Yes
   2 No

6. If no: would you like to be a part of a leading group?

   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 Don't care

7. In the group you go around with, which of the things below are important to be popular with the group? (Circle as many as apply)

   1 Having some special talent
   2 Being a sharp dresser
   3 Have easy moral standards
   4 Have high moral standards
   5 Good grades
   6 Drive a car
   7 Know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars
   8 Drinking or smoking
   9 Have money
   0 Ability to get along with all types of people

8. If you could be remembered here at school for one of these three things, which would you want it to be?

   1 Brilliant student
   2 Athletic star (Leader in Activities)
   3 Most popular

9. Which of the following teams have you been on, or are you going to try out for, this year? (Circle the ones that apply) (Not asked for girls)

   1 Football
   2 Basketball
   3 Track
   4 Baseball
   5 Tennis
   6 Others. Which? ______________________________

10. How many of the school athletic events do you attend? (Circle one)

   1 Most of them
   2 Some of them
   3 Few of them
   4 None

11. What group, in your estimation, are the real leaders in your school? (Circle one)

   1 The athletes
   2 The fraternity or sorority crowd
   3 The delinquents
   4 The good students
   5 The party goers
   6 Student council
   7 Others. Specify ______________________________

12. Do you date?

1 Never
2 Less than once a month
3 About once a month
4 Once every 2 or 3 weeks
5 About once a week
6 About twice a week
7 About four times a week

13. Do you go steady with one girl (boy)?

1 Yes
2 No

14. If you had a chance to go out with one of the following girls (boys), which one would you choose?

1 Brilliant student
2 Leader in activities (athletic star)
3 Most popular

15. Which of the following extra-curricular activities do you regularly participate in? (Circle as many as apply; add to the list if necessary)

1 Band or orchestra
2 Chorus, vocal
3 Dramatics
4 School paper or annual
5 Debates
6 Student government (student council)
7 Language clubs
8 Hobby clubs
9 Athletics
0 Varsity club
X Others. What? ______________, ________________

16. With whom do you make your regular home during the school year?

1 Both parents
2 Mother only
3 Father only
4 Mother and step-father
5 Father and step-mother
6 Grandparents
7 Foster parents
8 Aunt or uncle or both
9 Other. Who? ______________________________

17. How much formal education does your father have? (If you live with a step-father or foster father, answer for him)

1 Less than 8 grades
2 8 grades
3 9-11 grades
4 High school graduate
5 Some college
6 College degree
7 Graduate or professional degree
8 Don't know
9 No father, step-father, or foster father

18. Is your father presently employed? (If you live with a step-father or foster father, answer for him)

1 Yes
2 No, laid off
3 No, and not looking for work
4 No, but is looking for work
5 No, disabled
6 No, retired
7 No father, step-father, or foster father

19. What does your father (or step-father or foster father) do for a living? Describe the job as specifically as you can. Please give the job rather than where he works. If not employed, answer for the last job he had. If he is dead, what was his job?

____

20. If your mother (or step-mother or foster mother) works, what does she do? Describe the job as specifically as you can. Please give the job rather than where she works. If she is dead, what was her job?

____

21. How many older and younger brothers and sisters do you have? (Write in. If none, put in a "O".)

_____ Number of older brothers

_____ Number of older sisters

_____ Number of younger brothers

_____ Number of younger sisters

22. Did you move to this city after you were 12 years old or older?

1 Yes
2 No

23. If yes: a) When did you move? __________ (give year)
b) Where did you move from? ________________

24. If you had your choice, what would you like to do after you leave high school?

1 Graduate from college
2 Go to college for one to three years
3 Go to a business or vocational school
4 Get a full-time job
5 Get a part-time job
6 Go into the military service
9 Other. What? ____________________________

25. What do you think you really will do after you leave high school?

1 Graduate from college
2 Go to college for one to three years
3 Go to a business or vocational school
4 Get a full-time job
5 Get a part-time job
6 Go into the military service
7 Take any job I can get
8 Not be able to find a regular job
9 Other. What? ____________________________

IF YOU INTEND TO GO TO COLLEGE, ANSWER QUESTIONS 26 AND 27.
IF YOU DO NOT INTEND TO GO TO COLLEGE, GO ON TO QUESTION 28.

26. What college or colleges are you considering?

____

____

____

____

27. Looking forward to your years in college, how important do you think each of the following will be to you? Rank from 1 to 4: 1 being the most important, 2 second in importance, 3 less importance, 4 least important of all.

____ The stimulation of new ideas
____ Preparation for making a living
____ Campus activities and social life
____ New friends who share my interests

28. If you do not intend to go to college, what are the important reasons why? (Circle as many as apply)

1 I don't like school
2 I couldn't afford it
3 Most of my friends aren't going to college
4 My grades aren't high enough
5 My parents haven't encouraged me
6 My teachers haven't encouraged me
7 I plan to attend business or vocational school
8 I plan to be married soon after graduation
9 I plan on getting a full-time job after graduation
10 I plan on getting a part-time job after graduation

THE NEXT FOUR QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT SOME KINDS OF PEOPLE YOU MIGHT BE INVOLVED WITH IN REGARD TO YOUR POSSIBLE COLLEGE PLANS? THE QUESTIONS ARE FOR EVERYONE, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER YOU INTEND TO GO TO COLLEGE.

29. Which of the following kinds of people have ABILITY to help you go to college? (If you have both a parent and a step-parent, answer for the one you live with during the school year. Circle one number beside every kind of person that applies to you; if a person doesn's apply, leave that row blank.)

Has Ability YES	Has Little or No Ability NO	
1	2	Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
1	2	Father (step-father, foster father)
1	2	Older sister(s)
1	2	Older brother(s)
1	2	Negro teachers or counselors
1	2	White teachers or counselors
1	2	Friends at school

30. Which of the following kinds of people DESIRE to help you go to college? (Circle the number that best fits each kind of person. If a peson doesn't apply to you, leave a blank.)

Has Desire to Help YES	Has No Desire to Help NO	
1	2	Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
1	2	Father (step-father, foster father)
1	2	Older sister(s)
1	2	Older brother(s)
1	2	Negro teachers or counselors
1	2	White teachers or counselors
1	2	Friends at school

31. To what extent would it be PLEASANT OR UNPLEASANT to go to each of these kinds of people for help about going to college? (Write in the number that best fits each kind of person; if a person doesn't apply to you, leave a blank.)

Would be very pleasant-1
Somewhat pleasant-2
Neither pleasant nor unpleasant-3
Somewhat unpleasant-4
Very unpleasant-5

____ Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
____ Father (step-father, foster father)
____ Older sister(s)
____ Older brother(s)
____ Negro teachers or counselors
____ White teachers or counselors
____ Friends at school

32. HOW OFTEN Do you actually go to each of these kinds of people for help about going to college? (Write in the number that best fits each kind of person)

Very often-1
Quite often-2
Sometimes-3
Seldom-4
Never-5

____ Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
____ Father (step-father, foster father)
____ Older sister(s)
____ Older brother(s)
____ Negro teachers or counselors
____ White teachers or counselors
____ Friends at school

33. What kind of work do you plan to go into when you finish all of your schooling. Be as specific about the job as you can. Please give the job rather than where you want to work.

____

34. How much thought have you given to going into this kind of work?

1 A great deal
2 Some
3 Little

35. How sure are you about going into this kind of work?

1 My mind is made up for certain
2 Not too sure, but I think my mind is made up
3 My mind is not made up

36. How important to you would each of these job characteristics be? (Rank from 1 to 6: 1 being the most important, . . ., 6 being the least important)

_____ The security of steady work
_____ The opportunity for a rapid rise
_____ A chance to help others
_____ Friendly people to work with
_____ An opportunity to be creative and original
_____ A high income

37. Which of the following do you feel will really get a person ahead the fastest today? (Circle only one)

1 Hard work
2 Pleasant personality
3 Brains
4 Knowing the right people
5 Good luck
6 Your race or religion
7 Coming from the right family

38. Which of the folloiwng things, if any, do you feel may keep you from having a more satisfying life than you are now having? (Circle as many as you desire)

1 Lack of ability
2 Lack of training and education
3 Lack of opportunity: not getting the right breaks in life
4 Lack of any clear and positive aim in life
5 Family background

6 The group, class, or race I am in
7 My goals are too high
8 The circumstances in the United States that now restrict the chances of people who are in my station in life
9 None of the above

THE NEXT FOUR QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT SOME KINDS OF PEOPLE YOU MIGHT BE INVOLVED WITH IN REGARD TO YOUR PLANS FOR GETTING A JOB AFTER YOU FINISH ALL OF YOUR SCHOOLING.

(FOR GIRLS: IF YOU DON'T INTEND TO WORK AT ALL AFTER YOU FINISH SCHOOL, SKIP TO QUESTION 43.)

39. Which of the following kinds of people have ABILITY to help you get the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling? (If you have both a parent and a step-parent, answer for the one you live with during the school year. Circle one number beside every kind of person that applies to you; if a person doesn't apply, leave that row blank.)

Has Ability YES	Has Little or No Ability NO	
1	2	Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
1	2	Father (step-father, foster father)
1	2	Older sister(s)
1	2	Older brother(s)
1	2	Negro teachers or counselors
1	2	White teachers or counselors
1	2	Friends at school

40. Which of the following kinds of people DESIRE to help you get the kind of job you want after you finish all your schooling?

Has Ability YES	Has Little or No Ability NO	
1	2	Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
1	2	Father (step-father, foster father)
1	2	Older sister(s)
1	2	Older brother(s)
1	2	Negro teachers or counselors
1	2	White teachers or counselors
1	2	Friends at school

41. To what extent would it be PLEASANT or UNPLEASANT to go to each of these kinds of people for help in getting the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling? (Write in the number that best fits each kind of person)

Would be very pleasant-1
Somewhat pleasant-2
Neither pleasant nor unpleasant-3
Somewhat unpleasant-4
Very unpleasant-5

____ Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
____ Father (step-father, foster father)
____ Older sister(s)
____ Older brother(s)
____ Negro teachers or counselors
____ White teachers or counselors
____ Friends at school

42. HOW OFTEN do you actually go to each of these kinds of people for help in getting the kind of job you want after you finish all of your schooling? (Write in the number that best fits each kind of person)

Very often-1
Quite often-2
Sometimes-3
Seldom-4
Never-5

____ Mother (step-mother, foster mother)
____ Father (step-father, foster father)
____ Older sister(s)
____ Older brother(s)
____ Negro teachers or counselors
____ White teachers or counselors
____ Friends at school

43. Which of the following rules do your parents expect you to follow? (Circle as many as apply)

1 Time for being in at night
2 Amount of dating
3 Against going steady
4 Time spent watching TV
5 Time spent on homework
6 Against going out with certain girls (boys)
7 Eating dinner with the family
8 Smoking at home
9 No rules for any of the above items

44. Do your parents know your friends?

1 All of them
2 Most of them
3 Some of them
4 None or almost none

45. How do your parents act towards your friends?

1 Very friendly
2 Fairly friendly
3 Not friendly

46. What kinds of activities outside of school do you participate in? (Circle as many as apply; write in if you need to)

1 A neighborhood club
2 Scouting
3 Church youth groups
4 Church athletic teams
5 YMCA (YWCA)
6 Part-time job. What? ______________________________
7. Others. What? ______________________________
8. None

47. Do you agree that . . . .
(Circle 1 or 2 for each item)

AGREE	DISAGREE	
1	2	Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on
1	2	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plan with others
1	2	I often feel lonely
1	2	I enjoy being with people
1	2	I am not interested in the school activities that most students seem to like
1	2	I am interested in my schoolwork
1	2	There are a few who control things in this school, and the rest of us are out in the cold
1	2	If you want to be part of a leading group around here, you sometimes have to go against your principles
1	2	I don't enjoy my schoolwork, but I feel that I must do it in order to be able to get things I will want later

48. Which of the items below fit most of the teachers here at school? (Circle as many as apply)

1 Friendly
2 Too strict
3 Too easy with schoolwork
4 Don't understand problems of teen-agers
5 Not interested in helping teen-agers
6 Willing to help out in activities
7 Treat all pupils the same
8 Are fair in their marking
9 Try to make their class interesting
0 Have a personal interest in their students

49. Which one of these things would you be the most unhappy?

1 If my parents did not like what I did
2 If my favorite teacher did not like what I did
3 If my best friend did not like what I did

50. What is your religious preference?

1 Protestant (Which demonination? ____________________)
2 Catholic
3 Jewish
4 Other (What? ______________________________________)

51. If you were completely free to go into any kind of work you wanted to, what occupation would you choose? Give the job, not the place of work.

____

52. Of all the people you know well, which three do you admire and respect the most?

	Names	Occupations (give jobs, not places of work)	What are their relationships to you? (friend, relative, minister, teacher, etc.)
1.			
2.			
3.			

53. If you could attend any high school in your community, which one would you choose?

1 The one I am in now
2 A different one (Which one? ________________________)

54. Please discuss your reason for your high school choice.

____
____
____
____
____
____
____

You need not fill in the following unless you are willing to do so. These questionnaires are to be collected by research workers from Michigan State University and will be seen only by them. All the information requested will help us to get a better understanding of the problems of American high school youth.

55. What is your full name? ________________________
First Middle Last

56. Give the full names of your three best friends.

1. ______________________________
First Middle Last

2. ______________________________
First Middle Last

3. ______________________________
First Middle Last

57. What is your race? (Circle)

1	Asiatic	3	American Indian
2	Negro	4	Caucasian(White)